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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LXII, No. 3

April, 1957

East Asian Views of Modern European History

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

THE interesting but unstudied question—how do Chinese and Japanese historians view Western history?—deals with numerous double-ended variables that depend on an almost infinite series of multivalued ambiguities. Since Eastern historians have to base their interpretations on Western books, this article offers only one myopic Western view of selected East Asian views of printed Western views of modern European history. The subject is fraught with multifocal confusion. Yet this kind of “intercultural historiology,” seeing how one society views another, will no doubt bulk large in the comparative historical studies of the future. It is particularly pertinent today when so many Asians have a Marxist view of Western history.

Mindful that one can be most certain about things least known, I offer these definite, though obviously preliminary, conclusions: first, that one society’s view of another’s history involves a problem of social or cultural epistemology—how do the observers of one society learn about another? The

answer seems to be—by finding what they seek or are capable of finding, by noticing those things which are of interest to them or lie within their range of interest. To take an example from European history, during the Enlightenment the *philosophes* were delighted to see in the Chinese emperor a philosopher-king who ruled in accordance with natural law without the benefit of revealed religion. This congenial view of the Chinese despotism was made possible partly because in the seventeenth century the Jesuit missionaries in China had preferred to see Confucianism as a system of mere ethics compatible with Christian religious faith. In the same way we must assume, I think, that Chinese and Japanese scholars today view the West according to the way in which they have been sensitized to view it by their interests and experience. The historical view of another society includes a large subjective element—the viewers ask unconsciously, “What significance has *that* for *us*?”

A second conclusion is that professional historians and their textbooks, as functioning parts of a society, reflect its degree of modernization (a term I will eschew defining further except to call it maturity of adjustment to the modern world). On this score, Japanese studies of Western history have been a good deal more extensive than Chinese studies. The reasons range over a wide gamut: from Japan's original offshore propensity to absorb foreign culture to China's greater size and ethnocentricity and her difficulties of social metamorphosis during the modern century of imperialist pressures and destruction. Whatever the complex causes of this striking contrast, China's slower response to the modern West has left her today with rather little alternative to the dogmatic Marxist interpretations of Western history now being propagated from Peking, whereas Japanese historians have already absorbed a good deal of Marxism and are rising above its simplistic trammels.

The halting growth of China's view of the West can be sketched briefly through five phases, beginning with one of happy insouciance. Before the first Anglo-Chinese (Opium) war of 1840, imperial geographies characterized Europeans with charming superficiality:

Their flesh is dazzling white, they have big noses. . . . Their custom is to esteem women and think lightly of men. Marriages are left to mutual arrangement. . . . the (English) males mostly wear wool and love to drink wine. The females, when they have not yet married, bind their waists to make them slender. They wear disheveled hair which hangs over their eyebrows.¹

¹ Tung Kao, *et al.*, comp., *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung t'u* (Illustrations of the regular tributaries of the imperial Ch'ing, 1760), *chüan* i; transl. in J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), I, 12. For an example of geographical confusion, note the quite understandable Chinese difficulty in distinguishing between Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France, whose nationals in varying degree were called by the medieval generic term *Fo-lang-chi*, “Franks,” *ibid.*, I, 10.

This interest in the quaint externals rather than the basic philosophy of the Westerners persisted down to 1840. Then for the first time it became necessary to study the West in order to understand the danger it presented—what was the secret of Western power? An early geography of 1848 supplies a preliminary answer:

England consists merely of three islands, simply a handful of stones in the western ocean . . . an area about the same as Taiwan and Hainan. The reason for her becoming suddenly rich and strong . . . is that in the West she obtained America and in the East . . . India. . . . The English stealthily encroached on the various (Indian) states like silkworms eating mulberry leaves.²

Even after the Chinese scholar-officials recognized that they must study the secrets of Western power, they were slow to see a pattern in Western history. Having first ascribed Western power to gunboats and cannon, they soon saw the origin of these contrivances in Western science and industry; the latter must be absorbed into the Chinese state in order to preserve it. Eventually this view was also recognized as superficial. Partly by an extension of the Confucian emphasis on “men of ability” and “human talent” (*jen ts'ai*) in the political process, Chinese officialdom concluded that Western power derived from political processes and institutions. In developing this view in the 1880's, the pioneer journalist Wang T'ao was still appraising Britain through Confucian glasses:

The real strength of England lies in the fact that there is a sympathetic understanding between the governing and the governed, a close relationship between the ruler and the people [a typical Confucian ideal]. . . . The expenditure of the British ruler is a constantly fixed amount. . . . He does not dare to eat myriads of delicacies. . . . His palaces are all very simple. . . . The king has only one queen and no concubine and has never had a multitude of three thousand beautiful women in a harem.³

The appreciation of Western power as due to institutions led to a third phase in China's view of the West, marked by the acceptance of the historical theory of social Darwinism, survival of the fittest among nations. In the 1890's, reformers such as K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao pointed to the examples of declining states like India, Turkey, and Poland, or Annam, Burma, and Korea, and also to the examples of rising states such as Russia under Peter the Great, Prussia, Japan, or Siam. The latter were seen to be rising because of institutional reforms. The conclusion seemed inescapable

² Hsü Chi-yü, *Ying-huan chih-lueh* (A brief description of the oceans' circuit, 1850), VII, 43b; transl. in Ssu-yü Teng and J. K. Fairbank, *China's Response to the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 42-43.

³ Transl. in *China's Response to the West*, p. 140.

that China must reform her own traditional institutions, yet the efforts in this direction (especially in 1898, after 1901, and again after 1911) all proved ineffective in revitalizing and strengthening the Chinese state.

Not unnaturally, these attempts to learn from the Western example, when they proved unavailing on the level of national power, prepared Chinese observers for a fourth phase of disillusionment.⁴ This emerged particularly after the holocaust of World War I. In the 1920's, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as a reformer could write in retrospect: "Darwin's theory of the struggle for existence and survival of the fittest was applied to the study of human society and became the core of thought, with many evil consequences." Europe, he felt, was sick from a "spiritual famine." Eastern learning (by which he meant that of China and India) has "spirit as its point of departure, Western learning has matter as its point of departure."⁵ Thus developed one of the most trenchant, persistent, and yet oversimplified criticisms of the West from an Asian point of view.

The fifth phase in China's view of the Western historical process has been the acceptance of Marxism-Leninism. It is noteworthy that in China there was no preceding socialist movement. After 1911 the Western parliamentary model had failed to work, and in the 1920's Sun Yat-sen and his Kuomintang began to follow the Soviet model as a basis for organizing political power. At the same time, while the new Chinese intelligentsia remained essentially liberal and individualistic in outlook, a few began to accept academic Marxism as a new way of organizing their view of the world, partly, I think, because of the inadequacy of Sun Yat-sen's system of ideas. Marxism-Leninism thus became the latest phase of the Western impact on China—in effect, to imitate Lenin's formula, Marxism in China has become the highest stage of cultural imperialism.⁶

In retrospect, it would appear that the problem of China's adjustment to

⁴ Confucian conservatives had, of course, always found much in the West that was distasteful. As one late-nineteenth-century traveler noted, "In the West, a son does not take care of his father. . . . A wife is more honored than a husband. . . . Beautiful young girls are seeking for males everywhere . . . the customs are as bad as that! . . . As for food, they always sip cold water and juice. They cannot appreciate the culinary art but like butter and mutton ribs. . . . The kinds of soup are very limited." *Ibid.*, p. 184, quoting Yuan Tsu-chih, *She-yang kuan-chien* (Personal views after travelling abroad).

⁵ From Liang's collected essays, written in 1920; see *ibid.*, p. 267.

⁶ The latest Peking periodization divides Chinese feudalism into three periods: *Early* (W. Chou to Ch'in unification, ca. 1000 B.C.–221 B.C.), *Middle, first part* (Ch'in to Sui unification, 221 B.C.–589 A.D.), *Middle, second part* (Sui to end of Yuan, 589–1368), and *Late* (Ming to Opium War, 1368–1840). China's great civilization is thus put in the ignominious position of having been "feudal" for almost 3,000 years, far longer than any other people in history. See Fan Wen-lan in *Chung-kuo k'o-hsueh-yuan li-shih yen-chiu-so ti-san-so chi-k'an* (Bulletin of the Third Institute of the Institute [sic] of Historical Research, Chinese Academy of Sciences), July, 1954.

the modern world has been so all-absorbing, the modern Chinese scholars have been so concerned with China's immediate problems, so ethnocentric of necessity, that there has been neither opportunity nor inclination to develop a vigorous school of academic historical study of the West.⁷ A leader in modern Chinese thought such as Dr. Hu Shih, for example, who is now honored by violent attacks from Peking, focused his attention on the re-evaluation of the Chinese cultural tradition. Although he did this in part from a Western point of view, it did not involve him in a continuing and detailed study of the West as such. His Westernizing was selective and stressed the adaptation of Western elements to a Chinese setting as an aid to China's cultural rebirth. Today, the Chinese Communists' study of the West seems to be almost entirely a subjective function of their local and international political needs.⁸

Japan's view of the West went through a sequence of phases somewhat similar to China's but telescoped into a much shorter period. Already in the eighteenth century, Japanese scholars of the "Dutch learning" were studying the West, partly through Chinese books which were not being studied in China at the time. The "Dutch learning" produced its first Japanese translations of Western works in the 1770's. After the reopening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese scholars quickly took over a Western world view, including the current doctrines of evolution and progress. In the 1870's, translations of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and Darwin gave them a simple comprehensive system. Social Darwinism came into vogue in Japan even before it did in China. The early admiration of English institutions on the part of educators like Fukuzawa Yukichi gave way to an admiration of Bismarck and the doctrine of the supremacy of the state. Similarly, in economic theory the earlier doctrine of laissez faire gave way to a more Germanic theory of state intervention in the economy. All these Western doctrines became in turn subordinate to the rising Japanese nationalism.⁹

In the late 1920's and increasingly thereafter, many began to accept aca-

⁷ In contrast to the small number of Chinese historians of Western history, the Japanese Western History Association (Nihon Seiyōshi Gakkai) as of 1953 had 350 members. The American counterpart, the Far Eastern Association, had 750 members.

⁸ Thus a recent volume of essays on the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 is formally summarized (*t'i-yao*) as showing primarily that Japan's attack was caused, supported, and urged on by American imperialism (History Teaching Monthly, ed., *Chung-jih chia-wu chan-cheng lun-chi*, Peking, 1954). A documented *History of American Aggression against China* stresses the "piratical" nature of American commercial-capitalist contact with China from 1784 (Ching Ju-ch'i, *Mei-kuo ch'in-hua-shih*, Vol. I, Peking, 1952). A history of the American war of independence makes much of Shay's Rebellion (*Hsieh-szu ch'i-i*) of 1786 as a class war covered up by capitalist historians (Liu Tso-ch'ang, *Mei-kuo tu-li chan-cheng chien-shih*, Shanghai, 1954).

⁹ See G. B. Sansom, *The Western World and Japan* (New York, 1950), chap. xiv.

demism. (In what follows, my references are to this academic doctrine, Marxism as theory, rather than to its application in political action as part of a socialist or communist movement.) This process occurred in a time of increasing intellectual protest against the rise of militarism.

The many and diverse reasons for the acceptance of Marxist theory in Japan may be suggested briefly under two main heads. First is the tradition of ideological orthodoxy. Confucianism in Japan, as in China, had been an official tool of government. By it the scholar-administrator had been taught to think deductively from the authority of abstract principles. To some extent also the ideology of the state, summed up preeminently in Confucianism, had commanded an emotional adherence similar to that given religion in the West. The state had been comparatively more dominant over the individual and his thinking. It had regularly used history both to buttress authority and to sanction its exercise. There was little precedent for a Western type of historical pluralism. Thus the influence of tradition was to give Japanese scholars a craving for a comprehensive historical scheme, an authoritative doctrine of history. Even today Japanese teachers may be found who expect the Ministry of Education to establish one single system of periodization for history textbooks.

The second range of causes for the Japanese acceptance of Marxism may be grouped under the heading of circumstance. Rapid social change by the 1930's had produced a revolution in ideas. Old values had been overthrown by new conditions. The modern scholar class was comparatively poor and insecure, yet at the same time scholars were called upon to provide the intellectual framework by which Japan might claim her place in the modern world. They were under pressure to achieve a unified explanation of modern European and Asian experience, so as to fit the Asian half of mankind into the world. Looking at their own recent past, Japanese scholars saw the counterpart of European feudalism, the growth of capitalism, and an imperial expansion, all running parallel to the example of Western history, especially in its Marxist interpretation. In recent years, we have seen how Chinese scholars under the Communist dictatorship have attempted to fit China satisfactorily into the modern scene by alleging that she is now in the "forefront" of the (Marxist) historical process; this evidently offers some gratification after a century in which China has remained unable to fit herself into international life on equal terms with Western countries. A similar need was felt in Japan, even earlier, to make sense of the disasters and difficulties of modern international life in some all-embracing terms. Finally, there is

little doubt that today the spectacle of a Communist China close at hand also continues to be a direct stimulus to Marxism in Japan.¹⁰

Through this complex mixture of traditional and circumstantial factors, Marxism has become respectable among Japanese historians and certainly quite popular among the student body. Yet it has many varieties and gradations of influence, and leading Japanese historians remain in many ways quite non-Marxist. Perhaps it is safe to say that Japan's degree of acceptance of academic Marxism puts her scholars somewhere in between the Marxist and non-Marxist worlds.

This intellectual situation is not easy to characterize, but perhaps it can be illustrated by noting Japanese textbook treatments of four major topics in modern European history.¹¹

Absolutism: This is taken to refer not to the political theory of the absolute monarchy in Europe but to a national political-economic-social structure or form of state and social order. Thus the Age of Absolutism intervened as a separate period between decentralized feudalism and modern centralized democracy. The absolutist form of state provided a balance between conflicting feudal and bourgeois elements.¹² The significance of this interpretation for Japan lies in the fact that the Meiji period, which is fresh in memory, can be viewed as a counterpart in Japan of the historical stage represented by Absolutism in the West.¹³

The Renaissance, Humanism, and the Reformation: These subjects remain comparatively neglected or subordinated in Japanese textbook presentations of Western history, partly perhaps because they have no direct counterparts in Japanese experience and partly because cultural subjects are generally held secondary to those of economic and social history. There is a tendency to decry Humanism as a merely reformist movement which leaned

¹⁰ These generalizations are derived partly from a survey by J. K. Fairbank and Masataka Banno, *Japanese Studies of Modern China* (Tokyo and Rutland, 1955).

¹¹ For textbooks and correspondence, I am particularly indebted to Professor Teruhiko Onabe of Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku, Tokyo, a leader in the teaching of Western history (not responsible, however, for the inadequacies of this sketch).

¹² My colleague Professor Benjamin Schwartz found, as of 1954, that the discussion of absolutism along this line by Paul Sweezy and Maurice Dobb was widely known and remarked upon in Tokyo. See "The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism," *Science and Society*, Spring, 1950, pp. 134-67; also Fall, 1952, pp. 313-45 (H. K. Takahashi); and Spring, 1953, pp. 155-64 (P. M. Sweezy). For an account of the Japanese translation of the above and numerous later articles published on this controversy, see Inoue Kōji and Hayashi Kentarō, *Seiyōshi kenkyū nyūmon* (Research guide to Western history, Tokyo, 1954), pp. 96-102. For a typical textbook explanation of absolutism, see Kamei Kōkō and Hayashi Kentarō, *Gaisetsu Seiyō rekishi* (Outline of Western history, rev. ed., Tokyo, 1954), II, 4.

¹³ Cf. *Seikai rekishi jiten* (Tokyo, 1951-54), V, 266-69, on Japan's modernization. This 21-volume encyclopedia of world history by many authors will seem to American readers generally Marxist in tone, much more so than the older *Tōyō rekishi daijiten* (Encyclopedia of Oriental history, 9 vols., Tokyo, 1937-39).

on the despots to be its patrons and provided no useful model for revolutionary social change requiring force and strong leadership. Thus one textbook divides the modern period into Ages of Absolutism, Liberalism, and Imperialism, including under the first the geographical discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation and wars of religion, and even the Enlightenment.¹⁴ Another highly esteemed non-Marxist textbook retains the Age of Absolutism as a major section following the Middle Ages and subordinates the Renaissance and Reformation to it, though excluding the Enlightenment.¹⁵

The rise of bourgeois society: In their view of this topic, Japanese textbook writers may follow the Russian categorization according to which there were three forms of development respectively in England, Western Europe as typified by France, and Europe east of the Elbe as typified by Prussia and including Russia. The rise of bourgeois society in these different regions was distinguished by differences in the process of agrarian reform, emancipation of the serfs, and the like. For Japan, the significance of this lies in the conclusion that Japan's development has been rather similar to that of Europe east of the Elbe.¹⁶

The bourgeois revolutions in Western history are, of course, viewed in the light of Japan's own modernization. Agrarian reform and the growth of industrial capitalism in the West are seen as normal and healthy developments, whereas in Japan the Zaibatsu are regarded as having grown up from commercial capitalism, which made them more monopolistic and closer to the state, in the unhealthy manner described in *Das Kapital*.¹⁷

On this general topic, great influence has been exerted by the writings of Max Weber. Not unnaturally, American historians in Japan who prove to be somewhat vague in their knowledge of both Marx and Weber may be treated with that excessive politeness which bespeaks contempt.

Imperialism: Judging by Japan's experience of it over several generations, imperialism is one of the big facts of modern times, a point often difficult for Americans to appreciate. From an Asian point of view, no doubt, it is logical to see modern Europe as built on colonialism and at the expense of Asian lands. It is therefore perhaps less surprising that the Leninist theory of imperialism is almost universally accepted by Japanese scholars, whether or

¹⁴ Ōno Mayumi, *Seiyōshi gaisetsu (Kindai)* (rev. ed.; Tokyo, 1953).

¹⁵ Onabe Teruhiko, *Seiyōshi gaisetsu*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1953-55).

¹⁶ Cf. *Sekai rekishi jiten*, V, 266, where the Japanese form of modernization is placed between the East European (Prussian) type and the Asian (Chinese) type.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 20 on capitalism; also XIV, 278-80 on Japan.

not one might characterize them as Marxist or non-Marxist.¹⁸ This means that many Japanese scholars will accept the technical definition that "imperialism" is possible only for capitalist states, not for the Soviet Union, and possible only in the late nineteenth century or after, not in the time of Rome or of Napoleon. Many, indeed, will go so far as to apply this sort of theory to recent times and accept the propaganda thesis that World War II was caused by Britain and France turning Germany against Russia,¹⁹ or that Japan's military aggression was caused essentially by the 1929 depression and American economic imperialism in the Far East. World War II, in any case, is generally traced back to the post-1929 depression.

From this brief sketch emerge two preliminary conclusions: first, that historians in China and Japan, since they look at the West from outside, see its structure first and its values only later. In other words, the economic and social order, the polity of Western states, has been of greatest interest to them in a period when the old order has been undergoing rapid change in their own countries. On the other hand, some distinctive Western values, things in which Western individuals have generally reposed great value or importance, have not been similarly felt and experienced in these Eastern countries. So the Western historian, having an inside view and laying his greatest stress upon the values inherited from his own past, since they are indeed his own, may give corresponding attention to Humanism or the struggle for individual rights, while these topics may remain of less emotional concern to readers of history in China or Japan. Presumably the latter attach an emotional value to filial piety or the history of Zen Buddhism which will mean little to a Westerner.

A second conclusion, which I believe is basic to the further development of this field of study, is that the historians of modern China and Japan have felt the compulsion to achieve a system of world history capable of embracing West and East in a single view. In this direction, Japanese historians are now pioneering.²⁰ In contrast, the general fraternity of historians in the West,

¹⁸ See, for example, the economic explanation of imperialism in a non-Marxist text, Kamei and Hayashi, *Gaisetsu Seiyō rekishi*, pp. 214-16.

¹⁹ *Seikai rekishi jiten* presents this thesis in authoritative form: see XI, 128 under World War II; also XIII, 72 under imperialism.

²⁰ See the volume edited by Onabe Teruhiko, *Seikaishi no kanōsei* (The potentialities of world history, Tokyo, 1950), a symposium with some sixteen contributors. The following three examples of high-school world-history texts show a more balanced world view than their Western counterparts. Wada Sei and Yamanaka Kenji, professors emeritus of Tokyo University, devote 140 pages each to Oriental history (China, India, Islam, etc.) and to Western history (Greece, Rome, Europe, etc.) down to the nineteenth century and 65 pages to the contemporary world since the rise of imperialism (*Seikai shi*, 3d ed., Tokyo, 1953). Three other Tokyo University pro-

having previously felt little need for it, has been a bit pauperized or narrowed because of leaving Asia largely out of account.

The result is a challenge to Western historians to avoid being culture-bound, to maintain our historical pluralism (as a closer approach to reality than any single doctrine will permit), yet at the same time to expand our horizon so as to include the Asian half of human experience. Historians of modern Europe are challenged to delve more deeply into Asian sectors of modern history, to encompass phenomena which in many cases, often by default, are interpreted to Asian readers only in the monocausal terms of Marxism. Perhaps this can be done by what are called "comparative studies."

Certainly Asia will not come to be included in the Western historical perspective through the efforts of Western "Asia specialists" alone. Grave doubt must be thrown on the thesis that historical thought is possible only for those who read the languages required for mastery of documentation concerning a given subject. The use of Chinese and Japanese is now correctly recognized as prerequisite for specialization in Chinese or Japanese history from a Western point of view, but it may be argued that the mastery of these languages, far from preparing an individual for broader comparative world history studies of the sort here in question, may in fact obstruct his mastery of the many-sided questions involved in such comparative work. It is a disquieting symptom that while we have no "European specialists" in America who are called by that name, one still hears of "Far Eastern specialists" among us. The latter can only be got rid of when every Western historian takes world history as his proper horizon.

One incidental but important result of such a move will be to lend moral support to those nondoctrinaire Japanese and Chinese historians, wherever they may be, who are trying to bring East Asian history realistically and without dogma into our common modern world.

Harvard University

fessors, Murakawa Kentarō, Egami Namio, and Hayashi Kentarō, make a more social-anthropological approach to world-wide developments chronologically: Part I (150 pp.) through the Mongol dynasty in China and feudalism in Europe; Part II (100 pp.) through the rise and expansion of Europe, Ming and Ch'ing; Part III (55 pp.) on the world since imperialism and World War I (*Seikai shi*, 5th ed., Tokyo, 1955). Onabe Teruhiko and Nakaya Kenichi devote 80 pages to pre-modern and 160 pages to modern times (in the Japanese sense of the last five centuries) and 135 pages to contemporary times (imperialism and after), on a world-wide basis (*Gendai sekai no naritachi* [Origins of the modern world], Tokyo, 1955).

Jackson Men with Feet of Clay

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR.

THE contagious enthusiasm for General Andrew Jackson that in 1824 swept thousands of voters for the first time out of their accustomed tutelage to the established leaders demands careful study as a major phenomenon in the history of political democracy. It demands study also as an example of the frequently neglected influence of local political maneuvers on national developments. Though a few historians have intimated that Old Hickory's popularity could not have been converted into an electoral plurality without the aid of disgruntled politicians pursuing conventional factional and personal advantages in the various states,¹ little attention has been paid to the Tennessee politicians who brought him before the country in the first place.

The accepted interpretation assumes that the men behind Jackson's candidacy—principally Judge John Overton, Senator John H. Eaton, Felix Grundy, and Major William B. Lewis—were moved by sincere admiration and affection for their friend. They are also credited with a shrewd perception that the ground swell of democratic discontent building up beneath the surface of American politics might be mobilized to make the popular general President.² A close scrutiny of the events of 1821-1823 in Tennessee reveals, however, that the objectives of Judge Overton and most of his associates were by no means so large and disinterested. There is evidence to show that Jackson was nominated for the presidency only in order that specific local political advantages could be achieved and that "the original Jackson men" actually favored other nominees.

When General Jackson retired to private life in the winter of 1821-1822, seven years had elapsed since his victory over the British at New Orleans had made him a national hero. The sporadic talk that he might be a presidential possibility had never been entertained seriously in any responsible quarter, and Jackson himself had never taken it seriously. President-making was still left exclusively to the political leaders, and they were already grooming more

¹ See especially Philip S. Klein, *Pennsylvania Politics 1817-1832: A Game without Rules* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 117-24.

² Cf. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861), III, 11-23; John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1911), I, 326-29; Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 335-53.

than enough entries for the presidential sweepstakes of 1824. Already in the field, or soon to be there, were the major contenders: President Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts; the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford of Georgia; the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina; and the Speaker of the national House of Representatives, Henry Clay of Kentucky. Among the long shots being mentioned were Congressman William Lowndes of South Carolina, soon to be removed by death, and Governor DeWitt Clinton, leader of the opposition to Martin Van Buren's pro-Crawford Bucktail faction in New York.

Jackson's attitude toward these candidates was dictated mainly by personal considerations. Grateful to Adams and Calhoun for their defense of his violent incursion into Spanish Florida in 1818, he was hostile to Crawford and Clay, whose friends had attacked the Florida expedition in Congress. Crawford was slated by the old-line Republican leaders to receive the nomination of the regular congressional caucus, but Jackson declared that he "would support the Devil first."³ The Georgian had earlier impugned some of Jackson's Indian treaties, and he was being supported by the general's personal and political enemies in Tennessee.

The exigencies of factional politics largely controlled the attitudes of Tennesseans generally toward the presidential candidates. Overton, Eaton, and Lewis were associated with a faction that had dominated Tennessee for most of its history. Founded by William Blount, the architect of a fabulous land speculation involving most of the acreage in the state, this faction had been concerned primarily with making good its land claims and later with exploiting the possibilities of the banking business. Jackson had worked with this loosely knit group in his early days of political activity, and he was still personally intimate with Overton, now its unofficial leader, Eaton, Lewis, and their principal allies in East Tennessee, Overton's brother-in-law, Hugh Lawson White, and Pleasant M. Miller, a son-in-law of William Blount.

John Sevier had led the opposition to the Blount-Overton faction in the state's first years; more recently his mantle had fallen on a group of vigorous men who were all deadly personal enemies of Andrew Jackson. They included Senator John Williams and several congressmen, while their principal strategist was a Middle Tennessee planter and land speculator, Colonel Andrew Erwin, with whom Jackson was, in 1822, engaged in a bitter litigation that brought Erwin to the brink of financial ruin.⁴

³ Jackson to James Gadsden, Dec. 6, 1821, draft copy, Andrew Jackson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴ Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "Banking and Politics in Jackson's Tennessee, 1817-1827," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLI (June, 1954).

Since Erwin and his friends were solidly in the Crawford camp, the Blount-Overton men were certain to be anti-Crawford, and Jackson undoubtedly hoped to line them up behind Adams or Calhoun. This hope was threatened, however, when Henry Clay entered the presidential competition as the first western candidate in the history of the office, attracting strong support that cut across factional lines in Tennessee. Judge Overton had visited Clay in the summer of 1821, and as soon as the Kentuckian became a candidate, the judge promised him Tennessee's electoral votes. Clay got additional support from another important Tennessee politician, Felix Grundy, who a decade before had worked closely with him as one of the congressional War Hawks in precipitating the War of 1812. Grundy, like Overton, had been in communication with Clay during 1821, urging him to become a candidate and assuring him of Tennessee's support. Still another Clay backer was Governor William Carroll.⁵

Overton, Grundy, and Carroll spanned the political spectrum in Tennessee, and a union of their followers for the Kentuckian would have ensured his success in the state. Overton and his faction had been in eclipse since the Panic of 1819, which had generated a storm of public resentment against the banks they operated. Grundy, the only important Tennessee politician not identified with either major faction, had shrewdly capitalized on this popular discontent to become the dominant figure in the legislature, while veering back and forth between the two factions. Carroll was the ultimate beneficiary of the panic-generated discontent. Running as the Erwin faction's candidate for governor in 1821, he won a smashing victory over the Blount-Overton candidate. It was, in fact, the Overton men's desperate efforts to regain their ascendancy that led to Jackson's nomination for President.

The accounts left by Major Lewis and Judge Overton both indicate that the movement to nominate Jackson developed in the winter of 1821-1822, hard on the heels of Carroll's election. According to Lewis, the general's friends around Nashville "began now to speak of him as a candidate and, in *good earnest*, to take the necessary steps to place his name prominently before the country." The first public manifestation of the movement, Lewis continues, was an article in one of the Nashville newspapers in January, 1822, and soon afterward the Nashville *Gazette*, organ of the Blount-Overton faction, "took the field openly and boldly for the General."⁶

⁵ Overton to Clay, Jan. 16, 1822, Henry Clay Papers, Library of Congress; Nashville *Constitutional Advocate*, Sept. 17, 1822.

⁶ Lewis to Gov. Lewis Cass, undated letter, probably written in the 1840's, in the Henry L. Huntington Library.

Overton's account is similar, but he claims credit for originating the movement. Early in 1822, says the judge, "it forcibly struck me that he [Jackson] ought to be the next President and by proper means might be made so." Overton goes on to recall that he had "praises thrown out" in the *Nashville Gazette*. "They were lightly thought of," he says, "but that made no difference with me."⁷

Contemporary evidence makes it clear, however, that Overton was not the first to envision Jackson as a presidential candidate. Indeed, even after the Jackson talk had started, the judge preferred another. In a letter of January 16, 1822, he assured Clay that "as far as I know the public mind, you will get all the votes in Tennessee in preference to any man whose name has been mentioned." Though Overton reported "some whispering conversation here that Jackson would suffer himself to be run," he was "almost certain that he will not, ~~and~~ my information is derived from good authority." The judge added that Jackson could probably "beat you himself" in Tennessee, but that the general could not induce the voters to prefer Adams or Calhoun over Clay. Overton particularly requested Clay to keep his remarks confidential. "Inasmuch as I, and our family have always been friendly with Jackson," he wrote, "I should not like him to know of any interposition of mine on this subject."⁸

The apparent conflicts in the foregoing evidence are not irreconcilable. It would seem that the Jackson-for-President talk actually started with a group of politically ineffectual men around the general, most notably Major Lewis, that Overton was converted to the idea shortly after he wrote to Clay, and that Overton then instructed the *Gazette's* editor to launch the public campaign. If things happened this way, Overton's claim that he initiated the movement is essentially valid, since without his support it would never have gotten beyond the stage of talk. At any rate, the movement was certainly being pushed "in good earnest" by February, when Jackson's wife complained that "Major Eaton, General Carroll, the Doctor and even the Parson and I can't tell how many others—all of his friends who come here—talk everlastingly about his being President."⁹

Why did Overton throw his great influence behind the Jackson movement?

⁷ Overton to his nephew, Feb. 23, 1824, quoted in a sketch of Overton by Judge John M. Lea, a newspaper clipping in the Overton Papers on microfilm at the Joint University Library, Nashville. In the letter, Overton dates these events in early 1821, but this is an obvious slip, since he speaks of them as immediately preceding the legislature's nomination of Jackson, which did not occur until 1822.

⁸ Overton to Clay, Jan. 16, 1822, Clay Papers.

⁹ Augustus C. Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson: Pioneer, Patriot, Soldier, Politician, President* (New York, 1904), II, 157-58.

Much of the answer to this question may be found in a letter he received about the time he must have been making his decision. On January 27, Pleasant M. Miller of Knoxville, leader of the Blount-Overton forces in the lower house of the legislature, wrote to the judge suggesting that Jackson should be run for governor in 1823.¹⁰ Though Miller's epistolary style was highly ambiguous, the most casual reader could hardly miss his reiterated suggestions that Jackson's popularity might be used to effect certain local political objectives. Overton would have had no trouble understanding Miller's intimations that Governor Carroll, whose overwhelming strength was the chief obstacle to a Blount-Overton comeback, might thus be defeated at the state elections of 1823, that a new legislature purged of Jackson's enemies from the Erwin-Carroll faction might be elected at the same time, and that the various legislative purposes of the Blount-Overton men might thus be achieved.¹¹

A single paragraph of Miller's long letter will sufficiently suggest its tone:

Is there any man whose personal popularity is so likely to assist in fixing the seat of government permanently at any given point as Andrew Jackson, if so why should he not be the next governor, or why should this not be wish[ed] for by those who desire this result. I am satisfied that this cannot be done with the present legislature.

A more reliable legislature could be elected along with Jackson in 1823, Miller was suggesting. Even in Bedford County, Andrew Erwin's stronghold, Miller was confident the Jackson question would be potent enough to ensure the right kind of representation. In addition, Senator John Williams, whose term was expiring, could be replaced by a reliable Blount-Overton man. Miller had himself in mind for this position, as subsequently appeared.

At the time Miller wrote, there was talk of calling a special session of the legislature to meet during the summer. This legislature, having been elected along with Carroll the previous year, was untrustworthy from the Blount-Overton point of view. Hence Miller was anxious to prevent a special session, or if it were called, to keep it from acting on the matters he mentioned.

Miller had got wind of the talk about running Jackson for President, and he was by no means opposed to the idea, his comments implying that the

¹⁰ Miller to Overton, Jan. 27, 1822, John Overton Papers, Claybrooke Collection, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville.

¹¹ Among the issues to which Miller alluded were the location of the state capital and a proposed penitentiary, land legislation in which the speculators were vitally interested, and revision of the state judiciary. The judicial question was related to the land issue, the state supreme court having recently made a ruling disastrous to the speculators, and Overton was anxious to return to the supreme bench for the purpose of rectifying matters (see Patrick H. Darby to Jackson, July 4, 1821, Jackson Papers).

general had no chance to be elected, but that his candidacy might yield certain collateral advantages. Miller was reported to favor Adams for the presidency about this time,¹² and though his meaning is obscure, his letter of January 27 seems to suggest that Tennessee and other southern states cooperate with the smaller northeastern states in electing the New England candidate. Jackson's nomination would actually help Adams in the electoral college by depriving Crawford and Clay of votes from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, in most of which the New Englander had no chance anyhow. Crawford's defeat would aid in prostrating the Erwin-Carroll faction in Tennessee. Miller knew that Grundy "has different views at the called session," which doubtless meant a plan to nominate Clay. But, he told Overton, "I know that if you fall in with my notions that you will know how to act." He particularly urged the judge to "take time to consider of these matters so far as they concern our local affairs & ascertain how far certain persons will act on them," and concluded by promising to visit Nashville in March, when "we can converse more freely."

Overton's desertion of Clay and endorsement of the Jackson movement was substantially a fulfillment of Miller's hope that the judge would "fall in with my notions." The project of running Jackson for governor was found impracticable, but his nomination for President was to serve the same purposes. Although it was Miller who actually conceived the essential strategy first, Overton was doubtless responsible for abandoning the plan to run Jackson for governor and concentrating on his presidential candidacy. Early in the spring, Miller made his promised trip west to concert strategy with Overton. The special session had now been called for July, and it was agreed that this body should nominate Tennessee's hero formally.

Miller's subsequent letters to Overton throw further light on the motives of Jackson's two principal managers. "I have Jackson's interest deeply at heart," he wrote on June 8.¹³ "I think I know how bringing him forward is to operate upon the next congressional election &c. &c. I should not have went to the west when I did but with this view, & I think the effects of my visit will shew itself in some shape." The time had come, he thought, "for the papers to come directly forward" and call on the legislature to nominate Jackson at the special session. "Tell Jackson to come up Wednesday of the first week while people are all in a good humour—ask his friends to see him," Miller advised. "He can say he feels proud he has once returned to private

¹² Statement of Hugh Lawson White, in the *Nashville Union*, Sept. 25, 1835.

¹³ Miller to Overton, June 8, 1822, Overton Papers.

life. If he has any redgmental coat were it, put on little milletary dress &c. You know more I need say no more."

Miller did not hesitate to admit that "I have motives for this matter." Jackson's nomination was the best way of frustrating Senator Williams' plan to win reelection at the special session. "There ought not to be an election for Senator at this time," Miller insisted, "—these good people must be held in check & this is all the hold we have—in a state of excitement publick opinion will keep them down unless that election is over." Should Williams be re-elected, he predicted, there would be "a prodigious struggle" to realign Tennessee's congressional districts so as to favor Erwinite congressmen who "will in caucus vote for you knowho [Crawford]. I believe however I understand this matter tolerable well & expect to frustrate these views," Miller continued. "If I fail it will be the first time[.] keep your eye on [the] fidler & work even a head & let me alone for the rest." Almost parenthetically he reported talk that "I am a candidate for the Senate, & that my visit to the west was to promote that view."

Several weeks later, Miller wrote again,¹⁴ in terms indicating that he and Overton were working closely together toward mutually agreeable objectives. "I have rec[eive]d your two letters," he told the judge, "& things will be attended to to your satisfaction in part or in whole. I am using all my exertions to bring old hickory to view during the approaching session."

Meanwhile Overton and Miller had acquired an important recruit. Felix Grundy had become estranged from the Erwin-Carroll men and, in danger of political isolation, was ready to jump aboard any band wagon that happened along. The Jackson movement offered him a perfect opportunity to reinstate himself in the good graces of the Blount-Overton faction, and he did not hesitate. It was Grundy who on June 27 signed the note asking Jackson whether he had any objection to the proposed nomination.¹⁵ Jackson seems not to have replied, but silence was as good as open assent.

The last possible obstacle removed, Overton, Miller, and Grundy now made their final preparations, and the Nashville newspapers endorsed the plan for a legislative nomination. State pride kept even the Erwin-Carroll men from opposing Jackson publicly,¹⁶ though the editorial of endorsement in their organ, the Nashville *Clarion*, had a sarcastic ring. When the special ses-

¹⁴ Miller to Overton, June 25, 1822, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Grundy to Jackson, June 27, 1822, Jackson Papers. Grundy was probably enlisted during Miller's visit to Nashville in the spring. Miller had even foreseen Grundy's cooperation, having informed Overton in his letter of January 27 that Grundy had "abandoned the head of department at Nashville [Governor Carroll] & said that he would stick to me."

¹⁶ Andrew Hynes (an associate of Carroll) to Henry Clay, June 30, 1822, Clay Papers; James, *Jackson*, p. 351.

sion assembled on July 22, Miller was able to push his nominating resolutions through the lower house promptly, though the Erwin-Carroll men delayed action in the senate for two weeks.¹⁷

The reactions to Jackson's nomination by well-informed politicians outside the circle of Jackson managers were significant. All the comments that have been discovered agree in predicting that Jackson would not remain in the race as a serious contender. A month before the nomination, one of Governor Carroll's associates, Colonel Andrew Hynes, had informed Clay that Jackson had no hope of being elected and that he was being brought forward "not so much with view of promoting his own elevation, as to subserve an Eastern or Northern interest."¹⁸ The same explanation was advanced as late as the summer of 1823 by that astute politician, Thomas Hart Benton, following a two-month tour of Tennessee in the interest of Clay. "Jackson out of the way the state will go for you," Benton told the Kentuckian, "and there is hardly anyone who thinks he has any chance, and many see in his offering nothing but a diversion in favor of Adams."¹⁹

During the special session of 1822, Colonel Hynes discovered an additional explanation for the nomination. According to a "secret rumor that is afloat in the air," he informed Clay, Jackson's nomination was designed mainly to affect the senatorial election.²⁰ This was corroborated by a Colonel McClung, one of the leading citizens of Knoxville, who asserted that Pleasant Miller had "played off this manouvre to bring Jackson's name to bear, & make a point in the election of Senator." McClung was confident that Williams would be reelected by the special session despite the Jackson movement and that "so soon as the election of Senator is over, we shall hear no more of a Tenn. candidate for the office of President."²¹ McClung's judgment was wrong, for Miller's strategy succeeded in blocking Williams' reelection at the special session, and the senatorial election was postponed to the regular session of 1823.

Meanwhile, Governor Carroll was spreading reports that Jackson would probably not remain long in the running and telling Clay that he still had a

¹⁷ James, *Jackson*, pp. 352-53. Though inaccurate in details, Overton's account, cited in fn. 7 above, illuminates the roles of the principals. "The Legislature met," says the judge, "and then I communicated to a leading member my views which he gave into, communicated them to Grundy, who at first seemed a little surprised, but gave into the measure of recommending him by our Legislature which was done unanimously. The resolutions were preceded by a speech which I wrote for a member." Most of these negotiations took place, as we have seen, some time before the legislature met. The "leading member" was unquestionably Miller.

¹⁸ Hynes to Clay, June 30, 1822, Clay Papers.

¹⁹ Benton to Clay, July 23, 1823, *ibid.*

²⁰ Hynes to Clay, July 31, 1822, *ibid.*

²¹ McClung's remarks were reported by one of Clay's correspondents, George C. Thompson, Thompson to Clay, Aug. 12, 1822, *ibid.*

good chance for Tennessee. The governor also informed the Kentuckian that Grundy had promised to support him "if the prospects of Jackson became hopeless . . . and that he would endeavour to have you nominated at the next meeting of our legislature."²² About the same time, Colonel Hynes was in New Orleans assuring the Louisiana politicians that Tennessee would ultimately go for Clay.²³

Skepticism about the seriousness of Jackson's candidacy was also expressed by one of his sincere admirers. "Whatever may be the estimate in which he is held by the people of this State (and surely even here he is very differently estimated)," wrote Thomas Claiborne to a friend in Virginia, "I confess that I fear he will not be likely to unite sufficient strength in other States to secure his election. There are too many great men in other States to suffer a man from the young & small State of Tennessee at the present day to be made President of the United States."²⁴

Whatever their ultimate purposes or expectations, Miller and his allies did everything they could to raise a Jackson excitement in the state campaign of 1823. Meetings to endorse Jackson were organized all over the state; pro-Jackson candidates for Congress and the legislature were put up in most districts; office seekers were called upon to say whether they would vote against Williams for senator and for Jackson in the presidential election; and an unsuccessful effort was made to induce Jackson to aid his supporters by touring East Tennessee.²⁵

One of the hottest contests was in the Knoxville district, home of Williams, Miller, and Judge Hugh Lawson White, where Miller had entered a Doctor Wiatt as the pro-Jackson candidate for the legislature against the senator's brother, Thomas L. Williams.²⁶ This placed Judge White in a particularly embarrassing position. One of Jackson's oldest friends, a brother-in-law of Overton, and long a leader of the Blount-Overton faction, White was also related to Senator Williams and reluctant to oppose him. When he took the Williams' side in the Knoxville legislative campaign, he and his sons became involved in such a bitter personal broil with the Miller-Wiatt party that several duels were barely averted.

²² Carroll to Clay, Feb. 1, 1823, *ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*; Isaac L. Baker to Jackson, Mar. 3, 1823, Jackson Papers.

²⁴ Claiborne to David Campbell, Sept. 9, 1822, David Campbell Papers, Duke University Library.

²⁵ Samuel Martin to Jackson, June 17, 1823, Jackson Papers; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, Rufus King Papers, New York Historical Society; James Campbell to David Campbell, Apr. 3, 1823 [misplaced 1825], Campbell Papers.

²⁶ J. G. M. Ramsey to Francis P. Blair, Oct. 5, 1835, Blair-Lee Papers, Princeton University Library.

"If Genl Jackson has any wishes or prospects of success, I never was more disposed to aid him than now," White explained to Overton; "but I will not, as far as I can prevent it, permit scoundrels by the use of his name, to effect their dishonest or dishonorable purposes." White never doubted that Miller's senatorial aspirations lay at the root of the Jackson-for-President movement. "The whole cry is that Jackson must be President," he complained. "They have no more notion of trying to make him President than of making me. If he had a wish that way, and there was any prospect of success no three persons in this State would aid him more zealously than me and my sons; but I will not consent that scoundrels under a pretense of that kind shall rule, or tyrannize, over me and mine."²⁷ Recalling these events later, White maintained that Wiatt was in reality for Clay, while Miller wished "to use the name of Gen. Jackson, only for the purpose of securing the election of Mr. Adams, by dividing the western vote."²⁸

When the state election finally occurred in August, 1823, the results were inconclusive. The Williamses defeated Miller's pro-Jackson candidate for the legislature in the Knoxville district, but Andrew Erwin lost to a pro-Jackson candidate for Congress, and a pro-Jackson legislator was elected in Erwin's bailiwick, Bedford County.

Meanwhile there had been two important new developments. First, an astonishing and unprecedented upsurge of grass roots support for Jackson had manifested itself in various places outside Tennessee. A veritable "contagion" of Jacksonism was spreading over Alabama, as an alarmed Clay backer had to admit, and it rapidly attained sufficient proportions to block the expected election of a Crawford man as United States senator.²⁹ Major Lewis had been sounding out North Carolina and Mississippi politicians with surprisingly gratifying results.³⁰ Most startling of all was the outburst of Jackson sentiment in Pennsylvania, stemming, as one of Calhoun's lieutenants sneered, from "the grog shop politicians of the villages & the rabble of Philadelphia & Pittsburgh."³¹ But contempt quickly turned into intense concern when the swelling Jackson enthusiasm prevented the anticipated

²⁷ White to Overton, Jan. 30, 1823, Overton Papers. White expressed similar sentiments in a letter to David Campbell, June 19, 1823, in the Campbell Papers.

²⁸ Quoted in the *Nashville Union*, Sept. 25, 1835.

²⁹ James, *Jackson*, p. 370; Charles R. King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* . . . (New York, 1900), VI, 494.

³⁰ Albert Ray Newsome, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*, *James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, XXXIII, No. 1 (Chapel Hill, 1939), 90-91; Lewis to George Poindexter, Oct. 10, 1822, J. F. H. Claiborne Papers, Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History (copy furnished the writer by Dr. Edwin Miles).

³¹ George McDuffie to Charles Fisher, Jan. 13, 1823, Charles Fisher Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

nomination of Calhoun by the state Republican convention in March.³² Major Lewis was virtually the only member of Jackson's inner circle who seems to have anticipated anything like this. As early as October, 1822, he had predicted that Jackson's popularity with the masses would give him such states as Pennsylvania and North Carolina, that Calhoun would be forced to withdraw, and that Jackson would fall heir to the South Carolinian's following.³³ At the time it was written, Lewis' estimate had been the wildest optimism, but by the summer of 1823 it was a sober statement of a reality that was daily becoming more apparent.

Simultaneously with these surprising indications of his national strength, Jackson began demonstrating a disturbing independence of the Blount-Overton faction on state issues. Entering Tennessee politics many years before under the aegis of William Blount, Jackson had joined the Blount men in land and mercantile speculations based on paper credit and political power. But his business ventures had ended in a bankruptcy that cured him of all sympathies for the speculative system. He was outraged, therefore, when Grundy, Overton, and Miller induced the special session of 1822 to pack the state supreme court with judges who would overturn an earlier ruling adverse to the land speculators and to pass a punitive law aimed at Patrick H. Darby, a self-educated attorney who had been bringing suit against the speculators' doubtful titles. When Darby established a newspaper in self-defense and announced for the legislature against Grundy from the Nashville district, Jackson upheld him warmly, which "put Judge Overton in a great state of fretfulness" and produced a perceptible coolness with Grundy.³⁴

Banking was an even more important issue than land speculation in 1823. The banks, which were controlled by Blount-Overton men, had not paid specie on their notes for four years, and the new legislature would finally decide their fate. Here too Jackson's views were inimical to his managers, and he egged Darby on to expose the fraudulent misuse of federal pension funds by the Overton ally who headed one of the principal banks. Jackson was telling all who would listen, in fact, that he opposed all banks on principle.³⁵

Thus by the time the new legislature met in 1823, Jackson's conservative managers were in a dilemma. Their candidate had begun to display his dangerous tendencies just at the moment when he unexpectedly became a major contender. Most mortifying of all, they had initiated the whole business.

³² James, *Jackson*, p. 370.

³³ Lewis to George Poindexter, Oct. 10, 1822, Claiborne Papers.

³⁴ John Spencer Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, D. C., 1926-1935), III, 194.

³⁵ Sellers, *loc. cit.*

But Jackson's candidacy might still be killed. John Williams' reelection to the Senate would indicate that Jackson did not control his own state and keep worried politicians in states like Pennsylvania from jumping aboard the Jackson band wagon. Even Tennessee might be held for Clay after all.

The crucial importance of the Tennessee senatorial election was appreciated far beyond the borders of the state. Senator Ninian Edwards came down from Illinois to represent Calhoun's interests, while Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri spent several months in Tennessee on a similar mission for Clay.³⁶ When the legislature assembled at Murfreesborough in September, the little village was crowded with "extra members," who had flocked in from every part of the state to influence the legislators in the senatorial election. Judge White had come from Knoxville to "spread himself against Jackson,"³⁷ and was frequently seen with Senator Williams "in deep consultation on the woodpiles about the square."³⁸ The pro-Jackson delegation on hand to ensure Williams' downfall included Senator Eaton, Major Lewis, Thomas Claiborne, fresh from his defeat for the legislature on the anti-Grundy ticket, and Sam Houston, the dashing young lawyer who had just won a seat in Congress as Jackson's protégé.

During the preceding weeks, John Williams had been touring the state to line up his supporters, and despite Miller's active campaign the senator reached Murfreesborough with the assurance of a comfortable majority over the announced opposition. Much of his advantage arose from the fact that Miller was not the only politician hoping to ride into the Senate on Jackson's coattails. William G. Blount, son of the great speculator and a former congressman from East Tennessee, threatened to enter the race, while Jackson's old crony, the veteran East Tennessee politician, John Rhea, had actually abandoned his seat in Congress to offer as a candidate. Neither Miller nor Rhea would withdraw, and the Jackson men were forced into desperate efforts to stave off the election until they could unite on one of their two candidates. The least division would ensure the election of Jackson's notorious enemy and almost certainly destroy his presidential prospects.³⁹

There is strong evidence that Overton and Grundy were now working for

³⁶ Elihu B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers* (Chicago, 1884), p. 207; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, King Papers; Benton to Clay, July 23, 1823, Clay Papers; Jackson to [Eaton?], Oct. 4, 1823, draft copy, Jackson Papers.

³⁷ J. G. M. Ramsey to F. P. Blair, Oct. 5, 1835, Blair-Lee Papers.

³⁸ *Nashville Union*, Sept. 22, 1836.

³⁹ John Rhea to Jackson, June 18, 1823, Jackson Papers; R. G. Dunlap to Jackson, July 2, 1823, *ibid.*; John Williams to Rufus King, Nov. 19, 1823, King Papers; *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, III, 201n.; *Tenn. House Journal*, 1823, pp. 20, 76-77; *Tenn. Senate Journal*, 1823, pp. 29-30, 37, 59-60.

just this result, with the important assistance of Judge White. Since January, Senator Williams had been writing familiarly to Overton about his chances,⁴⁰ and now Thomas L. Williams implored Overton to come to Murfreesborough and help his brother. "As the friends of our opponents assemble to influence members and to promote the views of their favourite I think ours should be permitted an equal liberty," he wrote, betraying not the slightest doubt of Overton's sympathy. "Will you come up next week."⁴¹

Grundy, meanwhile, was leading the fight to bring on the election at once. "His vote had been firmly fixed from shortly after his arrival here," a newspaper reported him as saying in debate; "previous to that time a difficulty had existed with him on the subject which but one man [John Williams] could remove; and he now could say that the difficulty had been removed fully and satisfactorily, and he was now ready to give his vote."⁴² This was merely part of a concerted effort to convince members that Williams was not unfriendly to Jackson and would not oppose his presidential aspirations. Simultaneously, Grundy introduced resolutions instructing Tennessee's senators to do their best to prevent the congressional nominating caucus. All of this convinced Jackson's friends that Grundy was leading the Williams forces and had introduced his caucus resolutions to obviate the most serious objection to Williams, the expectation that he would attend the caucus and help nominate Crawford.⁴³

The suspicious Jackson men now sent a delegation to question Williams on his attitude toward the general, and when he equivocated, they dispatched a messenger urging Jackson to hasten to Murfreesborough and save the situation. Jackson refused to come, but he did insist on Williams' defeat and denounced Grundy and the other "schemers of the opposition."⁴⁴ By this time, as Governor Carroll reported to Clay, the situation was extremely "strange and uncertain."⁴⁵ When it became clear that Miller had too many personal enemies to overcome the well-organized Williams forces, the Jackson men persuaded the general to endorse Rhea, but even this left them three votes short of a majority. Jackson again refused to come personally to their aid, and the election could be staved off no longer.

Finally, in desperation, Eaton and Lewis had Jackson's name placed before the legislature as Williams' competitor for the Senate. When the messenger

⁴⁰ John Williams to Overton, Jan. 14, 1823, Overton Papers.

⁴¹ Thomas L. Williams to Overton, Sept. 20, 1823, *ibid.*

⁴² Nashville *Whig*, Sept. 22, 1823.

⁴³ William Brady and Thomas Williamson to Jackson, Sept. 20, 1823, Jackson Papers.

⁴⁴ Jackson [to William Brady and Thomas Williamson], Sept. 27, 1823, draft copy, *ibid.*; Nashville *Union*, Sept. 22, 1836.

⁴⁵ Carroll to Clay, Oct. 1, 1823, Clay Papers.

bearing this news reached the Hermitage, Jackson mounted up and left post-haste for Murfreesborough, arriving in the middle of the night preceding the election. Even with Jackson as a candidate and present at the election, Williams was beaten and Jackson elected senator by a vote of only thirty-five to twenty-five.

In Washington the following winter, Senator Jackson charmed friend and foe alike. Pennsylvania soon endorsed Tennessee's hero, most of Calhoun's support shifted to Jackson when the South Carolinian was forced to withdraw, and everywhere the popular enthusiasm for Old Hickory mounted.

Though Grundy, Overton, Miller, and White now joined Lewis and Eaton in the five-year campaign that carried Jackson into the White House, their situation was ironical. A movement started by obscure Tennessee politicians for their own local purposes had unexpectedly been caught up by a deep ground swell of democratic aspiration. The original Jackson promoters found themselves uncomfortably astride a whirlwind of their own devising.

None of these conservative men were fundamentally sympathetic to Jackson's social philosophy, as it began to manifest itself in the 1820's or as it was implemented in the 1830's. Old Hickory was hardly inaugurated before Miller went into opposition. Overton and Eaton evidenced their discomfort by trying to block Van Buren's vice presidential nomination in 1832. Overton died shortly afterward, while Eaton opposed the Jackson party covertly in 1836 and openly in 1840. Major Lewis dissembled from about 1833 on, professing friendship to Jackson but actually aiding his enemies. Judge White ran for President against the Jackson party's candidate in 1836. Only the adaptable Grundy, acutely sensitive to Old Hickory's popularity, managed to remain loyal until his death in 1840.

Since the foregoing account depends at some points on inference from rather ambiguous documents, it has been necessary to present much of the evidence in relatively raw form. This evidence each reader may evaluate for himself; but to the writer the following conclusions are clearly indicated:

1. Major Lewis and a few other politically inconsequential personal friends were the first Tennesseans to think seriously of making Jackson President, and these men could never have initiated the Jackson movement by themselves.

2. Jackson's nomination by the Tennessee legislature in 1822 was the work of Pleasant M. Miller, John Overton, and Felix Grundy, none of whom preferred Jackson personally and none of whom thought he had a chance to

be elected, or even to be a major contender. Miller seems to have favored John Quincy Adams, while Overton and Grundy hoped ultimately to carry Tennessee for Henry Clay.

3. The primary motive of these "original Jackson men" was to use Jackson's popularity to achieve certain local political advantages. Miller, who apparently sold this strategy to Overton in January, 1822, was particularly motivated by a desire to succeed John Williams in the United States Senate.

4. Overton and Grundy, surprised by the ground swell of Jackson sentiment outside Tennessee and dismayed by Jackson's increasingly manifest social philosophy, sought to kill his presidential candidacy by securing John Williams' reelection to the Senate in 1823.

American history is full of ironies, but surely few are more striking than the situation of these conservative Tennesseans as they unwittingly launched the movement that carried popular democracy to victory in national politics. The episode in itself is hardly more than a fascinating footnote to the Jackson story, yet for historians it is significantly representative. Scholarly indifference to the local and particular ends that are often the springs of political behavior has shrouded much of our political history in a pervasive unreality. The Jackson movement originated in a curious amalgam of local machinations by obscure politicians and of broad national developments. The political system thus imposed on the country has continued to rest on just such an amalgam. We shall never understand that system and its history adequately so long as able scholars confine themselves to congressional and cabinet level materials, while regarding investigations at the base of political life as work for inferior talents.

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French Finance and Italian Unity: The Cavourian Decade*

RONDO E. CAMERON

"ON the morrow of Solferino France gave its gold after its blood. . . . The financial campaign followed the military campaign."¹ Writing in 1863, the author of these words sought to emphasize the fact that French contributions to Italian unity did not end with the withdrawal of the French expeditionary force from Italy after the War of 1859. In fact, however, the military campaign followed an earlier financial campaign. Between 1848 and 1860, Frenchmen invested more than one billion gold francs in both public securities and private enterprises in the Kingdom of Sardinia. The activities of French bankers, investors, and engineers helped lay the foundations of economic development and financial stability in Piedmont which supported the diplomacy of Cavour and prepared the way for military collaboration with Napoleon III.

I

French investments in Piedmont formed part of a much larger outflow of French capital in the nineteenth century.² France experienced no rapid transformation to an industrial economy as did England between 1785 and 1850, or Germany and the United States after 1870; but throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a steady growth of modern industry, a growth that reached its peak intensity in the decade between the Revolution of 1848 and the Austro-Italian War of 1859 and made the France of the Second Empire the wealthiest nation on the Continent.³ By 1850,

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¹ *L'Industrie* (Paris), Mar. 7, 1863.

² See Rondo E. Cameron, *French Foreign Investment, 1850-1880* (Chicago, 1952), available on microfilm from the University of Chicago Libraries.

³ For general surveys of French industrialization, see Henri Sée, *Histoire économique de la France*, Vol. II (2d ed.; Paris, 1951), and Arthur Louis Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France, 1815-1848* (New York, 1955).

mechanical spinning and weaving of silk, cotton, and woolens, introduced in the first third of the century, produced almost 50 per cent of all French exports. Coal production rose from less than a million tons in 1815 to about five million in 1850, and more than eight million in 1860. The iron industry, utilizing primarily the ancient charcoal technique, doubled its output from 1825 to 1850; reorganized on the basis of coke smelting, its output increased by 250 per cent within the next decade. The installed horsepower of steam engines in industry increased tenfold between 1840 and 1870; other sources of mechanical power existed in the old-fashioned water wheels still in use and in the new hydraulic turbine developed by the Frenchman Benoît Fourneyron in 1832. In the latter year, France's first steam railway began operations; by 1850, three thousand kilometers of track were open; nine thousand by 1860; and eighteen thousand by 1870. Steamshipping, already important for internal transport before 1850, increased rapidly in overseas commerce thereafter.

Other factors joined technological advance to favor the rapid growth of wealth. Foreign commerce doubled between 1830 and 1850, and doubled again by 1860. Under the stimulus of increased world gold production, of which France received a disproportionate share, the price level rose by more than 50 per cent between 1850 and 1857. Wages lagged behind prices, resulting in a redistribution of income in favor of the propertied classes and contributing to the great speculative boom that made Paris the world's leading capital market in the 1850's.

The transformation of the French banking system produced a similar effect. After 1848, the Bank of France greatly extended its credit facilities, especially those concerned with stock market operations. The *Crédit Mobilier*, first of the great corporate investment banks, opened its doors in 1852. Its competition with the leader of the old established private banks, the Paris House of Rothschild, forced the latter to adopt more aggressive methods in the attempt to retain its preeminence in financing governments, foreign commerce, and especially new industrial enterprises.

The net result of all these factors was that the annual increase in the national wealth of France, which had averaged between 2 and 3 per cent in the first half of the century, rose to 5 per cent or more in the 1850's.⁴

In spite of the rapid accumulation of capital, the domestic demand, apart from the requirements of government and the nonrecurring expenditure for the construction of railroads, was not great. The French population was

⁴ For a discussion of both the supply of and demand for capital, see Cameron, *op. cit.*, chap. i and the references there cited.

virtually stagnant in the 1850's; the slight increase that did take place resulted mainly from immigration. Many French enterprises, especially in light industries such as textiles, were tightly-controlled family firms which rarely, if ever, sought capital from outside sources. Finally, the relative scarcity of mineral resources in France, particularly coal and the nonferrous metals, made domestic investment in these and related industries less attractive in comparison with similar investments abroad.

The foreign demand for French capital more than compensated for the relative weakness of the domestic demand. As in France itself, the real or fancied needs of government were responsible for the greater part. In the nineteenth century, public debts increased apace for the construction of public works such as railroads and harbors, for building and maintaining larger armies and navies, or simply to make up for the inefficiency and corruption of governments. By the century's end, only little San Marino, of all the states of Europe, was without its public debt.

The second largest foreign demand for capital was for the construction of railways. Britain, which in the earliest days of the steam railway had first begun its own system and then contributed to developments in nearby nations, notably France, increasingly turned its attention to overseas areas. From the middle of the century onward, Frenchmen shouldered the largest part of the burden in financing and constructing European railways. As early as 1860, Frenchmen could say: "What England has done for our railways, we in our turn have believed ourselves able to do for the rest of Europe. There exist today very few railways on the Continent in which French capital has not taken the largest part in their establishment."⁵ Paris was "virtually the only market" for Spanish, Swiss, and Italian rail securities, as well as the principal market for those of Portugal, Russia, and the Austrian Empire.

Foreign governments came of their own accord to the Paris capital market where French bankers, who reaped large underwriting profits and commissions, eagerly received them. At the same time, French promoters and entrepreneurs scoured Europe in their search for likely concessions for railroads, banks, insurance companies, canals, mines, and miscellaneous enterprises of all varieties. One of the happiest hunting grounds of these avid searchers was France's diminutive neighbor with big ideas, the Kingdom of Sardinia.

II

French investors bought Italian securities long before there was an Italian government, but they confined their earliest investments almost entirely to

⁵ François Blanc, *Des valeurs étrangères en France* (Paris, 1860), p. 6.

the public funds of resolute opponents of Italian unity: the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, and the petty princelings of central Italy.⁶ However, after the abortive uprisings of 1848–1849, in which Piedmont prematurely attempted to drive Austria from the Italian peninsula, French capitalists helped liquidate the costs of the wars and pay the indemnity of seventy-five million lire which Austria exacted from its hapless victim.⁷ Baron James de Rothschild, of Paris, was the principal intermediary in these transactions.

The Rothschild family, with branches in Frankfurt, London, Vienna, and Naples as well as Paris, had been the principal bankers of the Austrian Empire and its Italian satellites ever since the Congress of Vienna but had had very few dealings with Piedmont. One reason, no doubt, was the moribund state of affairs, both politically and economically, of the latter country before 1848. The government of Carlo Alberto and his predecessors was a miserly autocracy of the old style which had few occasions to incur debt, and the semi-feudal economy provided slight incentive for private investments. When the Austrian government engaged Baron James to transmit the indemnity payments, therefore, it gave him the inside track to the Sardinian finance ministry. Thereafter he played a leading role in both public and private finance in Piedmont, later in the Kingdom of Italy—much to Austria's chagrin.

Piedmont's finances were in a precarious condition as a result of the war costs and the indemnity, and its public debt tripled in the three years following 1848. Rothschild underwrote virtually the entire increase in Paris at ruinous rates for the country. Giovanni Nigra, the first finance minister under the new *Statuto* of 1848, which created a bicameral legislature and responsible cabinet on the English model, had the responsibility for raising loans. To cover actual and anticipated deficits for 1850 and 1851, the parliament in the summer of 1850 authorized Nigra to issue six million lire in 5 per cent *rentes*, thus constituting a nominal capital of 120 million lire.⁸ Rothschild, using a

⁶ Isadore Sachs, *L'Italie, ses finances et son développement économique, 1859–1884* (Paris, 1885), pp. 445–58; Egon C. Corti, *The Rise of the House of Rothschild* (New York, 1928), *passim*, and *The Reign of the House of Rothschild* (London, 1928), *passim*. The pagination of Corti's books differs slightly in the English and American editions; my references hereafter are to the American edition of *Rise* and the English edition of *Reign*.

⁷ Camillo di Cavour, "Mémoire sur les opérations financières exécutées sous le Ministère de Mr. de Cavour," (1852), in Luigi Chiala, ed., *Lettere edite ed inedite di Camillo Cavour*, 7 vols. (1st ed.; Turin, 1883–88), I, 313; *Journal des économistes*, XXIV (October, 1849), 424.

The gold lira, equivalent to the gold franc, was worth approximately 20 cents in pre-1914 gold dollars. There is no accurate method of measuring its value in terms of present-day currencies, but one may say that the purchasing power of a gold lira (or franc) in the 1850's was roughly the same as that of a United States dollar in the 1950's.

⁸ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 314.

veiled threat to depress the prices of all Sardinian securities if he did not get the contract, took 500,000 in *rentes* at a fixed price and agreed to sell an additional 3,500,000 on commission for what the market would bring. By the end of the year, with almost two million of the original bloc unsold, prices were so low that Rothschild persuaded Nigra to halt sales temporarily and accept an immediate advance of twenty-five million from him.⁹

This was one of Rothschild's favorite gambits. Once he conditioned a government to accept temporary advances to tide over emergency periods, it rarely ever regained its financial independence. As though addicted to a habit-forming drug, it returned again and again for new injections.

III

One member of the government saw at once where this policy would lead. Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, minister of marine, commerce, and agriculture, had already subjected his colleague to sharp criticisms in the Chamber of Deputies for allowing the country's finances to fall into such a state.¹⁰ When James de Rothschild visited Piedmont in October, 1850, to sign the contract for the four million in *rentes*, Cavour left Turin for the mountains in order to avoid meeting him and seeming to share the responsibility for the operation.¹¹ Although Cavour could not prevent Nigra either from giving the contract to Rothschild or from accepting the temporary advance, his ringing denunciations of financial incompetence soon forced Nigra out of the cabinet. In April, 1851, Cavour himself accepted the post of minister of finance.¹²

Cavour was no novice in financial and economic questions. As a young man, he pioneered in scientific agriculture in Piedmont and made several fortunes trading and speculating in grain, silk, securities, and foreign exchange. He played a leading role in founding the Bank of Turin and the first railway conceded to a private company in Piedmont. To his practical experience, he added years of study of history, politics, and economics, and he was an enthusiastic if undogmatic follower of the English classical school of political economy.

In 1850, Cavour entered the government and immediately put his principles into practice. The government had already taken a few hesitant steps

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *C. Benso di Cavour—Discorsi parlamentari*, 10 vols. [series incomplete] (Florence, n.d.), II, 176 ff. *et passim*.

¹¹ Cavour to Emile de la Ruë, Oct. 6, 1850, in Amédée Bert, ed., *C. Cavour: Nouvelles lettres inédites* (Turin, 1889), pp. 399-400.

¹² *Ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1851, p. 417.

to promote industry, lower the grain duty, and abolish differential navigation dues, but the rapidity with which Cavour instituted reforms astounded even his Liberal colleagues. Within a month, he negotiated a new trade treaty with France, followed shortly by others with Belgium, England, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, the Zollverein, and even with Austria. Between 1850 and 1855, exports increased by 50 per cent while imports almost trebled; the resulting heavy adverse trade balance was made up by French investments in Piedmont.¹³ The French minister at Turin had frequent occasion to comment favorably on the progress of the country and to indicate among its causes the "transition . . . [to the system] of commercial liberty."¹⁴

Not content with the promotion of freer trade, Cavour sought to stimulate the domestic economy with laws abolishing the municipal taxes on bread, eliminating the last remaining feudal dues, encouraging joint stock companies, promoting agricultural credit and education, reforming the postal system, and overhauling the administration of the navy. One of his most notable reforms was the removal of the naval arsenal from Genoa to La Spezia to permit the enlargement and reequipping of the Genoese harbor as a first-class port.

Both in office and out, Cavour consistently advocated the use of foreign capital and foreign enterprise to help develop Piedmont to the point that it could stand on its own feet. Time and again after he assumed leadership in the government, he stressed that financial order and economic progress were the two "indispensable conditions" for Piedmont to assume, in the eyes of Europe, the leadership of the Italian peninsula—and these it could achieve only with foreign aid.

As the director charged with supervising construction of the Turin-Savigliano railway, Cavour in 1850 obtained the services of two French engineers on the recommendation of Adolphe d'Eichthal, a Parisian banker and railway director. Regarding the choice between French and English engineers (to his mind these were the only alternatives), he wrote: "We preferred a French to an English engineer for the simple reason that the English are spendthrifts, and even at that we could not get a passable man except for an outrageous price."¹⁵ As a member of the government, Cavour was responsible for granting concessions to French entrepreneurs and engineers for

¹³ Gourand, branch manager of the Bank of France in Grenoble, to Count de Germiny, governor of the Bank of France, Grenoble, Apr. 11, 1860, Archives of the Bank of France. See also Bolton King, *A History of Italian Unity*, 2 vols. (3d impr. rev.; London, 1924), II, 2; and Roberto Tremelloni, *Storia dell'industria italiana contemporanea* (Turin, 1947), pp. 262 ff.

¹⁴ Duke de Guiche to Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, Turin, Mar. 3, 1854, Archives Nationales (France), F¹⁴.8627.

¹⁵ Cavour to De La Ruë, July 4 and 11, 1850, *Nouvelles lettres*, pp. 385, 387.

railways, gas companies, banks and insurance companies, mining privileges, and even agricultural development.

After becoming prime minister in 1852, Cavour divested himself of direct connection with commercial and industrial undertakings, but he continued to advise his friends and countrymen in their private economic affairs and to implore them to utilize the best talent, even when that meant importing it from abroad. The project for enlarging the harbor of Genoa occupied him throughout the 1850's, and the narrow viewpoint and limited horizons of the local businessmen drove him to distraction on more than one occasion. As early as 1852 he wrote: "If the city of Genoa refuses to take charge [of the project] one can find the capital in Paris without difficulty."¹⁶ He was still writing in the same vein in 1856 when he suggested that his friends in the *Crédit Mobilier* might be interested and in 1858 when, to his great disgust, the city fathers gave up the project altogether.¹⁷ In the end, Genoa got its new harbor through the bequest of a Paris banker, rather than through any efforts on the part of the local businessmen.¹⁸

IV

Important as were his reforms while minister of agriculture and commerce, Cavour first clearly demonstrated his great diplomatic talents as minister of finance. The situation he faced upon taking that office in 1851 was not an enviable one. A hasty survey showed a current deficit of some sixty-eight million lire—roughly 40 per cent of the budget. Cavour had to raise immediately eighteen million lire to repay advances from the Banca Nazionale, thus enabling it to resume specie payments; repay the advances from Rothschild to halt the drain on the treasury created by the exorbitant interest charges; and dispose of the remainder of the *rentes* created the previous year.¹⁹ Moreover, within a relatively short period another large loan would

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Paris, Sept. 13, 1852, p. 441.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Turin, Feb. 10, 1856, and Jan. 23, 1858, pp. 508, 529. The French *Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier*, founded in 1852 by the brothers Émile and Isaac Pereire with the collaboration of the Paris banking house of B. L. Fould et Fould-Oppenheim, was the most famous financial institution of its time; see Cameron, "The *Crédit Mobilier* and the Economic Development of Europe," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXI (1953), 461-88.

¹⁸ Raffaele Ferrari, Duca di Galliera (1803-1876), was a Genoese nobleman who spent his adult life in Paris making an already large fortune into the largest in Italy through his speculations and banking activities. He was a sometime director of the *Crédit Mobilier*, which he deserted to become an associate of the Rothschilds. When his only surviving son embraced socialism, he willed his entire estate to the city of Genoa, with a special provision of twenty million francs for rebuilding the harbor. See Duca di Galliera to Marco Minghetti, Dec. 7, 1875, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna; copy in Mostra del Porto de Genova, *Catalogo della mostra tecnico-storica del Porto di Genova* (Genoa, 1953); also *Gazzetta di Genova*, Nov. 24, 1876, and Giuseppe Morgavi, *Rievocazioni Genovesi* (Genoa, 1954), pp. 24 ff.

¹⁹ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 314.

be necessary to pay the last installment of the indemnity to Austria and resume construction of the state railway from Turin to Genoa.

Solicitous, as always, of the welfare of his clients, James de Rothschild offered fresh advances to Cavour to tide him over during his first few months in office. But Cavour resolutely turned his back on the tempter. Not for this had he created a ministerial crisis. He was determined to show Rothschild and Europe, once and for all, that Piedmont was not tied to Rothschild's purse strings.²⁰

The course Cavour set for himself was a bold one which, he knew, would encounter the gravest sort of opposition from the rejected financier; but once he set out upon it he dared not turn back. An issue of treasury bonds, an innovation in Piedmontese finance, sufficed to repay the bank its temporary advances and elicit more. Another innovation, public subscription in Piedmont for eighteen million lire in standard government bonds, was an overwhelming success which called forth almost double the amount of the issue in subscriptions.²¹ But the boldest step of all was the decision to raise a new large loan, not in France and not through the Rothschilds but in England, where until then Piedmontese securities had been all but unknown. Cavour's emissaries had first approached Baring's, the financiers of France's Napoleonic indemnities; but Baring's knew that a Rothschild offer had been spurned and dared not attempt the issue of a loan that would be opposed by the greatest financial power in Europe.²²

Better luck was had with C. J. Hambro & Son, a relatively small house, but one which was highly respected both in England and in Scandinavia, where it was banker to the court of Denmark. The face amount of the loan was 3,600,000 pounds sterling which, at an issue price of eighty-five for the 5 per cent bonds, would have brought in more than seventy-five million lire to the Sardinian treasury. The price of issue created a stir in financial circles, for it was 2 per cent above the price of the Sardinian 5 per cent *rentes* on the Paris market.²³

Public subscriptions opened in London in the first week of July, 1851, but sales were not rapid. Cavour, as soon as he took over as finance minister, had ordered Rothschild to sell the remainder of the 1850 *rentes* at whatever price they would bring. Rothschild had already begun to depress the prices of all Piedmontese securities and, as soon as the loan was opened, he threw on to

²⁰ Cavour to E. d'Azeglio, Turin, Apr. 25, 1851, in Nicomède Bianchi, ed., *La politique du Comte Camille de Cavour de 1852 à 1861* (Turin, 1885), pp. 1-2.

²¹ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 315.

²² Cavour to D'Azeglio, Turin, May 9, 1851, *Politique du Comte Cavour*, pp. 6-7.

²³ Cavour, "Mémoire," *Lettere*, I, 316; *The Times* (London), July 1, 1851.

the market all of his own substantial holdings of the 5 per cent *rentes*. As the subscription dragged, Rothschild quipped: "L'emprunt est ouvert, mais pas couvert."²⁴ But enough came in (£2,200,000) to meet the most pressing obligations of the government, and, even more surprising, the first market transaction took place at a premium despite all that Rothschild could do.²⁵ The remainder of the issue sold gradually over the next year at premium prices which brought into the treasury a million lire more than anticipated. Thus did Cavour issue Piedmont's declaration of financial independence of the Rothschilds.

But Cavour had no idea of doing without the services of that eminent house permanently. Indeed, in the midst of the issue, when James de Rothschild was doing his best to depress the prices, Cavour ordered his emissary in London to transmit the proceeds of the loan to Paris, where they would be used to settle the Austrian indemnity, through the intermediary of the Rothschilds, "in order not to alienate altogether that great financial power."²⁶ Such was the way of Cavour; and it was characteristic of Rothschild, as well, to bear no malice in money matters once the issue was settled. Cavour continued to use Rothschild whenever the occasion demanded and the price was right—as it usually was, after that affair—particularly for transmitting bills on London to pay interest and amortization on the Anglo-Sard, as the Hambro issue was known on the 'Change.

In 1852, after the striking success of Cavour's policy of boldness, Rothschild offered to underwrite the two million in *rentes* (nominal capital forty million) remaining from the authorization of 1850 at the exceptionally favorable price of ninety-two.²⁷ Cavour had no intention of raising another loan so quickly, as he was still raking in the proceeds of the Anglo-Sard; but in order not to give offense to Rothschild, he submitted the proposal to the Sardinian parliament with the observation that he would probably be able to get along without it until the following year. His parliamentarians took the hint, and the proposal was rejected.²⁸ In January, 1853, he offered these same *rentes* to Rothschild at a price of ninety-five; Rothschild countered with eighty-eight. In the end, they agreed upon a price of ninety-two, but with the first coupon detached, which actually gave the Sardinian treasury a yield of 94.50—four points above the highest quotation of the Anglo-Sard.²⁹ Cavour

²⁴ Cavour to Count Revel (special emissary in London), Turin, July 9, 1851, *Lettere*, I, 198.

²⁵ *The Times* (London), July 8, 1851.

²⁶ Cavour to Revel, Turin, July 5, 1851, *Lettere*, I, 193-94.

²⁷ Cavour to De La Ruë, Feb. 1, 1852, *Nouvelles lettres*, p. 434; cf. Corti, *Reign of the House of Rothschild*, p. 308.

²⁸ Corti, p. 309.

²⁹ Cavour to Revel, Turin, Jan. 8, 1853, *Lettere*, II, 8.

had thus come full circle in his financial dealings, and Piedmont was no longer a beggar at the doors of *la haute banque*.

V

Determined to make Sardinia into a modern nation in the shortest possible time, Cavour continued to push economic development and make large expenditures on public works. By the end of 1854, the state had spent more than two hundred million lire on railways alone.³⁰ Completion of the line from Turin to Genoa required another loan in 1853, but owing to the greatly improved credit standing of Piedmont, Cavour decided that an issue of 3 per cent *rentes* would be preferable to the fives then outstanding.³¹ In the event that it became desirable at some future date to convert the fives into threes, it would be essential to issue the new *rentes* on the Continent rather than in England, in order that the interest on the new loan might be payable in Paris, where the bulk of the outstanding debt was already held. Cavour did not, however, advise Rothschild of this possibility but continued to encourage bids from England, and particularly from Hambro. At the same time, to ensure competition on Rothschild's home ground, he entered into preliminary negotiations with B. F. Fould & Fould-Oppenheim of Paris, associates of the Crédit Mobilier. As a result, Rothschild gave the best price ever received by Piedmont for a loan: seventy, less 2 per cent commission, for an issue of 3 per cent *rentes*, thus making the effective interest rate less than 4½ per cent. In writing to a friend concerning the outcome of the negotiations, Cavour stated: "You will note that the rivalry with Fould was worth several millions to us."³²

Cavour's economic and financial policies succeeded beyond all expectation. The "Cavourian decade" was one of continually mounting prosperity as well as diplomatic triumph for Piedmont. Foreign trade increased, new industries were established, and individual wealth grew apace. In 1854, Cavour decided to raise internally a small loan (L.44,000,000) for public works, although Rothschild was given a share and agreed to stand behind it in case the public subscription should be disappointing. Actually, the public response was so great that not all subscriptions could be filled. They came in from every province and from towns and villages of all sizes; there were few large takers

³⁰ Duke de Guiche to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Feb. 21, 1855, Archives Nationales (France), F¹⁴.8627.

³¹ Cavour to De La Ruë, Feb. 27, 1853, *Nouvelles lettres*, p. 451.

³² *Ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1853, pp. 452-53.

(the average subscription amounted to only 250 francs of *rentes*), but the many small ones more than made up for their absence.³³

Despite the gratifying results of his policies, further evidenced by the fact that, apart from the Crimean War loan from the English government, no more borrowing was necessary until 1858, Cavour insisted on maintaining personal control of the nation's finances. He retained for himself the post of minister of finance after assuming the presidency of the cabinet in 1852. For a time in 1855, after the resignation of his minister for foreign affairs, he carried all three posts simultaneously, but the strain was too great. A cabinet reorganization permitted him to drop the newest of his responsibilities, thereby leaving him free to devote his efforts to "financial affairs, which, in the final analysis, are the most important."³⁴ Except for short periods, he continued to carry the posts of minister of finance and prime minister until after the successful conclusion of the war against Austria in 1859.

VI

In the spring of 1858, with the war clouds already gathering, Cavour called for a new loan to strengthen the military and naval establishments. When his parliament finally approved the bill, after long and tiresome debates, Cavour immediately entered into negotiations with Rothschild.³⁵ The loan consisted of 5 per cent *rentes* issued at an average price of 86.38, for a net yield of slightly more than 39 million on a nominal capital of 45.4 million.³⁶

At the very time Cavour negotiated the loan contract with Rothschild, he was preparing himself for his famous secret rendezvous with Napoleon III at Plombières. Among the questions he wished to discuss were: "In what proportions will the costs of the war be supported?" and "Will France furnish Piedmont the means for raising a loan?"³⁷ He found the French emperor as concerned with finances as he himself was. In reporting to Victor Emmanuel on the outcome of the conference, he stated: "Agreed on the military question, we were as well on the financial question, which, I should inform Your Majesty, was the one which especially preoccupied the Emperor. He consented, nevertheless, to furnish us the war material which we will need and

³³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1854, and May 3, 1854, pp. 471-72, 473.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1855, p. 489.

³⁵ Corti states that "on that occasion [Cavour] felt that Rothschild was too high and mighty," and does not indicate that the loan was actually issued (*Reign of the House of Rothschild*, p. 374).

³⁶ Achille Plebano, *Storia della finanza italiana dalla costituzione del nuovo regno alla fine del secolo XIX*, 3 vols. (Turin, 1899-1902), I, 57; Sachs, *Italie*, p. 442.

³⁷ "Memorie diverse portata a Plombières da S. E. il Conte di Cavour," *Il Carteggio Cavour-Nigra dal 1858 al 1861*, 5 vols. (Bologna, 1926), I, 98.

to facilitate the negotiation of a loan in Paris.”³⁸ Napoleon further emphasized his concern with finance and logistics in a letter to Cavour dealing with preparations for the war: “I recommend that you pay great attention to two essentials: (1) the financial question; (2) the question of supplies. One cannot prepare himself too carefully.”³⁹

A man as meticulous in his attention to details as Cavour scarcely needed this bit of fatherly advice. As winter approached, he got down to the specifics of raising the money. He interpreted the agreement that Napoleon would “facilitate” a Sardinian loan in Paris to mean a guarantee by the French government to the investors, thus granting Piedmont the same credit standing as France. But Costantino Nigra, his special envoy in Paris, informed him that such a thing was out of the question, as Napoleon did not yet wish to tip his hand to Austria. Instead, Prince Napoleon, with the approval of the emperor, proposed selling the Piedmont state railways to a French company and promised the influence of the French government with the *Crédit Mobilier* or any other likely combination.⁴⁰

This proposal astonished Cavour; he did not object in principle to selling the railways, but time did not permit such a complex transaction. Besides, the holders of the Hambro loan had a mortgage on the railways with an option to buy them if the state wished to sell. Cavour reiterated his demand for a loan but modified the amount; if France would furnish thirty million, Piedmont itself would give fifty.⁴¹ Still Napoleon would not consent to a direct appeal for funds in France, but he had three new suggestions: the establishment of a land bank on the model of the French *Crédit Foncier*, which would make loans to Piedmont and issue its own bonds in France and England; the fusion of the Turin *Mobilier* (Rothschild’s weak facsimile of the great French institution established in 1856 to keep the *Crédit Mobilier* out of Italy) with the Paris original; or the raising of a loan in London.⁴²

Of the emperor’s three suggestions, only the second struck Cavour as feasible, but he reacted to this notion with mild enthusiasm and soon began to work out a scheme in his own mind. The *Crédit Mobilier*, in addition to absorbing the Turin bank, would make an advance of thirty million francs

³⁸ Cavour to Victor Emmanuel, Baden, July 24, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 108; see also I, 313–15. In the definitive secret treaty of alliance, drawn up in December, 1858, but not finally ratified until January, 1859, it was provided that the “costs of the war will be supported by the Kingdom of Upper Italy,” which was to reimburse French expenditures by allocating one tenth of each annual budget until the charges were liquidated. The unexpected conclusion of the war necessitated a modification of this provision.

³⁹ Compiègne, Nov. 2, 1858, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra*, I, 197.

⁴⁰ Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Dec. 4, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 231.

⁴¹ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Dec. 9, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 234–36.

⁴² Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Dec. 13 and 15, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 241–42, 246–47.

to Piedmont with the understanding that it would eventually have the privilege of buying all the state railways and the majority of the privately-owned lines as well. No difficulty would arise in getting the consent of the stockholders of the Turin Mobilier, for it had fallen into hard times and might have to be liquidated in any case. Cavour felt less certain about the willingness of the directors of the Crédit Mobilier, as he had collaborated with Rothschild in sidetracking their earlier ambitions for expansion in Italy. "I fear that Messieurs Pereire may have retained their rancor against me for not having granted them the privilege which they requested. For quite a while they were altogether furious with me. . . . For my part I have forgotten all, and I would be charmed to deal with them. . . . Prince Napoleon should have a great influence [with them]; urge him to use it at once. . . . M. d'Eichthal I know well. . . . Bixio, who is very close to those gentlemen of the Place Vendome, could aid us greatly."⁴³

This scheme inevitably affected the Victor Emmanuel Railway, the largest private railway company in the kingdom and one which was already 90 per cent French. Cavour's original plan, which had the backing of Prince Napoleon, would allow the Crédit Mobilier to purchase control of the Victor Emmanuel. However, the directors of the railway, presided over by Cavour's close friend, Charles Lafitte, rejected this scheme outright. Bixio, a director of both the Crédit Mobilier and the Victor Emmanuel, served as mediator and proposed as an alternative that the Victor Emmanuel issue bonds guaranteed by Piedmont and underwritten in France by the Crédit Mobilier;⁴⁴ but the Pereires did not even consider that proposal.

The negotiations dragged through the latter part of December and the first half of January with no satisfactory results. The protagonists worked at cross purposes, each with his own variant of the scheme; and as yet no one had persuaded the Pereires to agree even in principle.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, a fortuitous event changed the complexion of the entire situation: Austria reenforced

⁴³ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Dec. 17, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 251-52. Adolphe d'Eichthal, the same whose advice on railway matters Cavour requested in 1850, was an associate of the Pereires in the Crédit Mobilier and many other enterprises. Alexander Bixio, an Italian by birth and a close friend of Cavour, was also a director of several Pereire enterprises. Cavour had already attempted to reestablish contact with the Pereires for the construction of a railway from Genoa to La Spezia (Bixio to Cavour, Paris, Oct. 28, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 172).

⁴⁴ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Dec. 23, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 256-57; Cavour to Napoleon III, Turin, Dec. 29, 1858, *ibid.*, I, 263-64. In 1857, when the Victor Emmanuel added two lines in Piedmont proper to its network in Savoy, a new law authorizing the construction of a tunnel through the Alps at Mont Cenis allowed forty million francs for the job—one half to be furnished by the railway and one half by the government. Presumably, if the scheme had worked out, the proceeds of the bond issue would have been made temporarily available to the Sardinian government.

⁴⁵ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Jan. 9 and 11, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 291-92, 298.

its troops in Lombardy. No longer under the necessity of hiding the true purpose of the loan, Napoleon sent word that Cavour might "openly request the authorization of his Chambers to contract a loan" and be assured that the emperor would "facilitate by all means in his power the execution of the project"⁴⁶—which was exactly what Cavour had wanted in the first place.

The situation changed, but not all for the better. The problem of finding takers for the loan remained. This was temporarily shelved for the celebration of the marriage of Prince Napoleon and Princess Mathilde and the completion of the final conventions of the alliance,⁴⁷ but on February 4, 1859, Cavour presented to his parliament a bill authorizing a loan of fifty million lire. He had originally intended to ask for only forty million, but in light of an announced Austrian loan of 150 million, he felt safe in pushing his request to the larger figure.⁴⁸

The obvious possible underwriters for the loan—Rothschild, the *Crédit Mobilier*, and Fould—all wanted a very high price for their services. Rothschild, who had already undertaken to issue the Austrian loan, tried to play both ends against the middle—and keep all the pawns in place. Bixio reported to Cavour in January: "They are making a great effort here [in Paris] to persuade themselves that war will be avoided. Rothschild [*sic*] who, they say, wants to issue the Austrian loan, is playing for a rise, but there is no faith in it [the rumor]. The worm is in the fruit."⁴⁹

Bixio negotiated with the Pereires on Cavour's behalf. They were willing, if they could get authorization from the French government to double the capital of the *Crédit Mobilier*, to advance up to fifty million francs on current account, the sum to be repaid within one year on the guarantee of the French government. They would also submit, "at an opportune moment," an offer to underwrite a long-term loan of fifty million to liquidate the short-term advances, but Piedmont would not be bound to accept the offer. Or, they would sell the loan in a public subscription for a commission, but they would not commit themselves to underwrite immediately and at a fixed price a long-term loan. Rothschild's attempted issue of the Austrian loan in early February failed miserably, and the Pereires feared that a public subscription in Paris for

⁴⁶ Nigra to Cavour, Paris, Jan. 10, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 296.

⁴⁷ Cavour to Villamarina, Turin, Jan. 23, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 306: "We have signed the treaty and the military convention; there remains the financial convention, which presents a few light difficulties, but I expect to surmount them." Cavour to Nigra, same date, *ibid.*, I, 307: "I have concluded the financial convention. . . ."

⁴⁸ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 5, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 3.

⁴⁹ Paris, Jan. 19, 1859, *ibid.*, I, 305.

the Piedmont loan would be the signal for a "general debacle which nothing could prevent."⁵⁰

Cavour himself did not favor a public subscription without a firm commitment by the underwriters but persevered in thinking that his customary game of bluff might pay another dividend. "Rothschild [*sic*] . . . has called to Paris in all haste his correspondent in Turin, and everything leads me to believe that he is afraid of losing the monopoly with regard to our *rentes* which he has exercised for a number of years."⁵¹ If Rothschild had offered to take the loan at a fixed price, it would have been his, but he could not be drawn into that. As a last resort, Cavour decided to let the Crédit Mobilier issue the securities on a commission basis, if they would agree to take at least ten or fifteen million of the long-term securities in order to support the price. "If after having divorced Rothschild [*sic*] we marry Messieurs Perreire [*sic*], I believe we would get along very well together."⁵² The Pereires countered with a final offer to underwrite the entire loan, but at a price of seventy-five for 5 per cent *rentes*, which even Prince Napoleon felt was too low. He complained to Victor Emmanuel that "the money is in the hands of the partisans of peace, and it will not be easy to make them give it up for armaments in Italy."⁵³

Cavour, having bluffed to the limit, prepared to lay his hand on the table and face the consequences. Throughout the winter, encouraging reports came in from his agents in other parts of Italy, and he decided to raise the loan "with the aid of the Lombards and Tuscans." France and England would lend their money more readily after the war began than "at this moment when the bankers of all countries are organized in a kind of conspiracy in favor of peace."⁵⁴

On March 3, 1859, Cavour offered one half the authorized amount of the loan for public subscription throughout Piedmont at a price of seventy-nine; various bankers in Italy and abroad took the remainder on contract. After the refusal of the great French banks to go along on acceptable terms, Cavour did not dare open a public subscription in Paris but solicited subscriptions from France as a means of counteracting the unfavorable effects of the bankers'

⁵⁰ Bixio to Cavour, Paris, Feb. 9, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 5-6.

⁵¹ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 13, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 13.

⁵² Cavour to Bixio, Turin, Feb. 13, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 11. Cavour, even in this hour of tension, was looking ahead to opportunities for developing Italian industry. As late as January, 1861, he was still trying to persuade the Pereires to assist in his program by establishing a bank in recently conquered Naples (Cavour to Bixio, Jan. 9, 1861, *ibid.*, IV, 352).

⁵³ Prince Napoleon to Victor Emmanuel, Paris, Feb. 18, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 23.

⁵⁴ Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Turin, Feb. 25, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 25.

obstinacy; he even suggested that Prince Napoleon use his young wife's dowry to purchase *rentes*.⁵⁵

Cavour's hand was good. Subscriptions poured in for small amounts but in great numbers from all over the kingdom, from Paris, Leghorn, Florence, the States of the Pope, and even from under the heel of the archenemy in Milan. The public oversubscribed its allotment within a few days, and Cavour exulted: "We could have gathered 80 million in place of 50 . . . I daresay that is the proof that our policy is eminently national [i.e., Italian]." Nor could he refrain from taunting the bankers: "The finance minister had the satisfaction of refusing the demands of the Great Barons of Paris banking. I hope the Prince [Napoleon] sees now that we did right in not submitting to the yoke of the Pereires and Foulds."⁵⁶ Losing no chance to magnify the success of his policy, Cavour had his journalistic friends and henchmen in Paris emphasize both the refusal of the bankers and the great success of the public subscription.

The cost of unity, however, exceeded even Cavour's shrewd estimates. The direct cost of the war, as short as it was, came to eighty-nine million lire; to this it was necessary to add the indemnities paid to Austria and to France for its participation, along with three fifths of the debt of Lombardy-Venetia, assumed by Sardinia. The total came to almost four hundred million lire, of which about one half was raised in Paris.⁵⁷ That was for extraordinary expenses in 1859 alone; and Italy was not yet a nation.

To help close the deficit, the government asked the Italian public to subscribe for a capital of one hundred million lire in November, 1859; it replied with subscriptions for four times that amount, almost half of them coming from the newly-liberated provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna.⁵⁸ In June, 1860, with Garibaldi in Sicily and Piedmontese troops on the verge of crossing into Umbria and the Marches, a new call for 150 million elicited subscriptions for more than 500 million lire.⁵⁹ Such was the patriotic appeal of a successful policy of unification.

⁵⁵ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Mar. 1 and 4, 1859, *ibid.*, II, 46, 50. See also Plebano, *Finanza italiana*, I, 58, and Sachs, *Italie*, p. 443.

⁵⁶ Cavour to Nigra, Turin, Mar. 9, 1859, *Carteggio Cavour-Nigra*, II, 71; Cavour to D'Azeglio, Turin, Mar. 8 and 10, 1859, *Politique du Comte Cavour*, pp. 313, 316; see also *The Economist* (London), Mar. 12, 1859.

⁵⁷ Sachs, *Italie*, pp. 443-44. In accordance with the treaty of Zurich, Sardinia transmitted to France, for sale in Paris, new securities with a nominal capital of 183,249,160 francs. Sixty million represented payments for France's contribution to the war, the remainder an indemnity to Austria.

⁵⁸ Tour d'Auvergne to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Nov. 22, 1859, Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (France), *Correspondance Commerciale, Turin*, T. 15, fols. 467-69.

⁵⁹ Sachs, *Italie*, p. 445.

VII

On the eve of 1848, the public debt of the Kingdom of Sardinia amounted to 135 million lire. Between 1848 and 1860, new securities with a face value of almost 1,200 million lire yielded the Sardinian treasury approximately 950 million; more than half of this sum came from France.⁶⁰ To the 500 million lire invested by Frenchmen in public securities should be added a like amount to account for French investments in private enterprises in the kingdom. This represented approximately one half of the newly-created capital employed in industry, foreign commerce, transport, banking, insurance, and public utilities—in short, in every economic activity except agriculture, handicrafts, and retail trade. In 1860, there were in all of Italy 281 *societe anonime* (limited liability joint stock companies) and 96 *accomandite* (limited partnerships with shares) with a combined capital of roughly 1,350 million lire. More than two thirds of these were located in Piedmont, and the greater part both there and elsewhere were “due to French initiative and formed with the assistance of French capital.”⁶¹ The Victor Emmanuel Railway, the largest private undertaking in the kingdom, alone employed some ninety million francs in French capital; banking and insurance used almost exclusively foreign capital, mainly French; in industry, French capital was employed in silk, cotton, mining, metallurgy, and public utilities.

In 1848, the government of Carlo Alberto, its foreign credit negligible, could scarcely raise fifty million lire by means of a forced loan. In 1860, the government of Victor Emmanuel could easily raise ten times that amount without utilizing its substantial credit abroad. The changed situation resulted in large measure from the wise policies and skilled diplomacy of Cavour, but he could not have done the job without the prosperity induced by French investments and French enterprise in Sardinia.

Cavour, as the architect of Italian unity, built with the materials at hand and used the forces of the age to achieve his structure. The military support

⁶⁰ All of the figures cited here are estimates, based as far as possible on the details of the actual issues and supplemented by such information as is available in Plebano, *Finanza italiana*, and Sachs, *Italie*, neither of which is entirely reliable. Care has been taken not to overestimate the proportion of French capital. Britain, the only other important foreign creditor, contributed approximately 12 per cent of the total. The nominal capital of outstanding securities on January 1, 1860, was 1,045 million lire, but this does not account for debts retired between 1848 and 1860. Some indications of the difficulties of accurate accounting are shown by the fact that L. S. Sackville-West, a special agent of the British Foreign Office, on the spot in Italy in 1860, reported that Sardinia had raised a total of 2,150 million (including 750 million in France) since 1848, and his tabulations omitted several of the more important loans. See *British State Papers*, 1860, LXVI (Cd. 2716), 59.

⁶¹ Tour d'Auvergne to Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Turin, Apr. 19, 1858, *Correspondance Commerciale*, Turin, T. 15, fol. 145; see also Tremelloni, *Industria italiana*, pp. 136–37, and Sachs, *Italie*, pp. 741–42.

of Napoleon III and the French army raised the roof-tree over the edifice of united Italy; but thousands of Frenchmen from all walks of life had already helped lay the solid foundations of material progress and financial stability without which the superstructure would shortly have crumbled.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Assistance Available for Post-Doctoral Historical Research and Publication

LOUISE CARROLL WADE

IN 1929, *The American Historical Review* published a summary of fellowships and grants-in-aid that were currently available for historians engaged in research or seeking aid in publication.¹ At that time, only three foundations and a handful of other organizations were interested in financing historians. During the intervening years, and especially since the end of World War II, the picture has changed drastically. Inflation now forces most scholars to seek financial aid of some type in order to carry on research,² and changes in the tax structure, if not a sudden surge in altruism, have produced a staggering postwar crop of philanthropic foundations. For example, in 1929 there were eighteen bona fide philanthropic foundations in the United States, with a total capitalization of \$36,590,000. By 1944 the number had risen to 505. Today there are approximately 5,000 foundations, with total assets amounting to \$5,450,800,000. Many of these organizations contribute generously to educational institutions and support broad research programs in the social sciences and humanities as well as the physical sciences.³

In addition to this mushrooming of philanthropic foundations, other forms of financial aid for historical research and publication have been developed. Many societies and associations now offer grants-in-aid or sponsor awards to promote and encourage historical writing. Some publishing firms have met the postwar economic challenge by providing subsidies for the publication of scholarly manuscripts that otherwise might never be printed.

The purpose of this survey has been to investigate the current sources of

¹ Dexter Perkins, "Aids to Historical Research and Publication," *AHR*, XXXIV, 274-80.

² See Elbridge Sibley, *Support for Independent Scholarship and Research* (New York, 1951), chaps. v and vi.

³ Ernest V. Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York, 1938), p. 23; F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Foundations* (New York, 1956), pp. 11-37; "Foundation Gains Since 1944 Noted," *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1956.

aid and to set forth the types and amounts of financial assistance available for historical research and publication today. The information presented here was collected for the most part by correspondence. Approximately 1,000 letters were sent to a selected list of foundations, learned societies and other associations, research libraries, and publishers. The letters requested information about "funds available for post-doctoral research in all fields of history," descriptions of awards or prizes for manuscripts, and statements about assistance in publication. It should be noted that the financial and other assistance reported in this survey is not restricted exclusively to holders of the Ph.D. degree; however, the project sought primarily to discover opportunities for aid in post-doctoral historical research and publication.

There are a number of difficulties about this type of survey which must be mentioned at the outset. Three quarters of the inquiries were answered, but the unanswered letters represent foundations, societies, or organizations that may or may not have financial aid available. Many of the correspondents replied in such vague terms, or their organizations had such indefinite fields of interest, that inclusion of their information would have been misleading rather than helpful to scholars. A *caveat emptor* is thus in order. Furthermore, it was necessary to omit organizations that at one time gave substantial support to historical research but whose programs are now suspended, even though some of these organizations intend to resume their grants in the near future.⁴ It is hoped that they will send official announcements to the *Review* at the appropriate time, and the same holds true for any organizations which have grants or awards now in the planning stage. Any organization that has been overlooked is urged to send information to the "Historical News" section of this journal.

Still other shortcomings stem from the formulation of the original list of organizations contacted. Limitations of time and money made it impossible to question all foundations with a possible interest in historical research. Only 380 of the foundations listed in *American Foundations and Their Fields*⁵ could be included. Furthermore, any foundation, society, or organization that restricted its grants, prizes, or awards to scholars living in, or coming from, a particular city, county, or state was automatically excluded. Insti-

⁴ We make an exception to note that the American Council of Learned Societies (1219 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.), beginning July 1, 1957, will again be able to offer fellowships and grants-in-aid in the humanities. At this time, final arrangements have not been concluded, but it is expected that these might carry stipends of \$10,000 for senior faculty fellowships, \$5,000 for junior faculty fellowships, and up to \$3,000 for grants-in-aid.

⁵ Wilmer Shields Rich (7th ed.; New York, 1955). More than 1,000 of the 4,162 foundations indicated an interest in "Higher Education," "Fellowships and Scholarships," "Social Sciences," and "Humanities."

tutional research programs designed specifically for the faculty or graduates of that institution were also omitted, for presumably historians eligible for such grants already know about them. Nor was it possible to investigate the many social science research projects that are administered by educational institutions and financed by grants from foundations, government, or industry—even though these programs often involve fellowships and grants-in-aid for historical research.⁶ Another type of financial aid not covered is the open fellowship, or research fellowship, maintained by a college or university for full-time research in its library or manuscript collection and usually available to graduates of any institution without restriction.

Fellowships and grants sponsored by foreign governments or institutions for research in countries other than the United States are not listed in this report because the information is readily accessible in an excellent UNESCO publication, *Study Abroad* (see page 580). Finally, no attempt has been made to catalogue the numerous societies or institutes which publish quarterlies, journals, collections, publications, or reports in which historical manuscripts are printed without cost to the author.

Information about the financial aid now available, which is considerable despite the limitations in the scope of the survey, has been organized in four sections: fellowships, grants-in-aid, awards and prizes, and assistance in publication. *Fellowships* are interpreted here as substantial sums enabling a scholar to devote his full time to research for a period of four to six months or longer. Smaller awards designed to support a scholar for only two or three months of full-time research, to supplement remuneration for a lighter teaching load, or to meet the expenses of travel, microfilm, secretarial assistance, etc., are considered *Grants-in-Aid*. When recipients of fellowships and grants-in-aid are also given assistance in publication, this is mentioned and is not repeated in the section on assistance in publication. *Awards and Prizes* are, for the most part, outright cash gifts for distinguished articles or books, either in manuscript or printed form. Some, however, are awards for the best article appearing in a given magazine within a certain period of time. Some carry not only a cash award but also a guarantee of publication, in which cases the information is not repeated in the section on assistance in publication. The listings under *Assistance in Publication* are intended to make known to historians those organizations willing to underwrite or subsidize historical manuscripts which presumably would not have wide enough sale to merit regular com-

⁶ See American Council on Education, *Sponsored Research Policy of Colleges and Universities, A Report of the Committee on Institutional Research Policy* (Washington, D. C., 1954) and Erin Hubbert and Herbert H. Rosenberg, *Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research* (Washington, D. C., 1951).

mercial publication. Few organizations, however, could state any definite, clear-cut policy, for the terms of each transaction differ widely. Since most of the university presses subsidize a number of historical manuscripts each year, the reader has been referred to the *Directory* of the Association of American University Presses (see page 591).

Whenever possible, the specific terms and conditions of the financial aid are quoted from the organization's announcement or reply to the questionnaire. Some material in the section on awards and prizes has been taken from the *Literary Market Place*.⁷

In the early years of this century, when Andrew Carnegie was devoting himself to the arduous task of distributing his fortune, he decided to follow a rule which had proved useful in his business career: "Find the efficient man, and give him what he needs." Today there are many efficient historians who need—or at least could use—a great deal of financial aid. But alas, there are very few Carnegies searching them out. It is hoped that this modest survey, which is highly selective and illustrative rather than complete, will help historians locate some financial assistance for their research and publication in coming years.

I. FELLOWSHIPS

American Academy in Rome (101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York) maintains a School of Classical Studies intended to promote "the study of (1) classical literature and its relation to antiquities and history; (2) classical, Etruscan and Italian art and archaeology . . . ; (3) through a fellowship in art history, the art and archaeology of the early Christian, Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque periods in Italy." Special research fellowships are offered in the School of Classical Studies, each carrying a stipend of \$2,500 a year and residence at the Academy. The senior classical fellowships "are generally awarded to senior instructors or assistant professors who have a special project which requires research in Italy."

American Association of University Women (1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.) has a program of National Fellowships "open to American women who show promise of distinction for advanced study or research." Preference is given to candidates who have received the Ph.D., or have fulfilled all requirements for the degree except the dissertation. There are eighteen fellowships valued at \$2,000 each, unrestricted as to subject and place of study; two fellowships, each amounting to \$2,000, are specifically for study outside the United States. Also included in the National Fellowship program are three fellowships at \$2,500; three at \$3,000; and one fellowship of \$3,500, all unrestricted as to subject and place of study.

⁷ "Literary Prizes and Awards," *Literary Market Place 1956-1957* (New York, 1956), pp. 277-91.

International Fellowships are open to all members of branch organizations of the International Federation of University Women (thus including members of the AAUW) and "are offered to enable the holders to carry on a year's research in some country other than their own." The following awards are available under this program: five fellowships at \$2,000; two fellowships valued at \$1,500; one fellowship worth 2,700 guilders, tenable only in the Netherlands; one fellowship worth 12,500 Icelandic kroner, tenable at the University of Iceland; one fellowship worth 2,100 Swedish kroner, tenable in Sweden; one fellowship of £600; one fellowship of £506 to be used in Ireland; one fellowship worth 20,000 Belgian francs; one fellowship amounting to 3,000 DM, tenable only in Germany; one award of 1,000 Danish kroner to be used for a short-term study project in Denmark.

Belgian American Educational Foundation, Inc. (420 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York) offers a limited number of advanced fellowships for work in "a field of study for which Belgium [or Belgian Congo] offers special advantages." These awards are open to members "of the faculty of an American college, university or research institute, intending to continue in academic teaching or research." Preference is given to candidates under thirty-five years of age. The basic fellowship stipend is \$200 monthly, with allowances for necessary travel expenses. Tenure of the fellowship depends upon the individual project, but appointments are usually made "for periods of from three to ten months in Belgium."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) awards a limited number of fellowships to qualified scholars for research and writing in several fields, including cultural history. "The work supported has been largely of an interpretative, analytical, or critical nature. . . . The fellowships are generally for a term of from one to three years and carry a stipend ranging from \$1,200 to \$3,600 a year." In some cases, a manuscript prepared under a fellowship has been published by the Foundation in its Bollingen Series (see page 591).

Council on Foreign Relations (58 East 68th Street, New York 21, New York) offers Carnegie Research Fellowships for the study of "some aspect of United States foreign policy or of international affairs affecting the United States." The holders of these fellowships are expected to spend a year in New York devoted "to study, reflection and writing," to undertake "original research with a view to publication," and to participate to some extent in Council activities. Preference is given to candidates between the ages of thirty and forty-five years and "to persons who have already had several years of teaching experience in American colleges and universities and who intend to continue in that line of work." Stipends are adjusted to match the fellow's present salary. In exceptional cases, fellowships may be granted for two years. Books and articles resulting from the fellowships must be offered first to the Council for possible publication.

Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc. (Doherty Fellowship Committee, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey) offers a limited number of fellowships for advanced study or research in Latin America in the field of social studies. Preference will be given to projects that "involve study in Chile, but not to the exclusion of grants for study in other Latin American countries." All fellowships will cover the cost of travel and living expenses for one year, the actual amount of the stipends varying between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (1703 32nd Street, Washington 7, D. C.) offers "a small number of Research Fellowships at the post-doctoral level for work on a late classical, Early Christian or Byzantine subject. Projects in the Western medieval and Near Eastern fields are also acceptable if they involve relationships with Byzantium." The fellowships carry a stipend of \$1,500 plus room and board for the academic year, adjustments being made for fellows with families. The Research Fellowships are renewable twice.

Ford Foundation (477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York) maintains a few International Relations Training Fellowships for special graduate training related to international and foreign affairs. They "are intended primarily for persons who wish to broaden their background for teaching and research by combining training in international relations with training in economics, history, political science, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology or related fields, or with training in the history and culture of one or more nations of Asia, the Near East, Africa, or the Soviet and East European areas." Applicants should be under forty years of age and should have completed at least all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation, or have had the equivalent training and experience. "More specifically, applications are invited" from persons now studying or teaching international relations, a social science, or one of the related humanities, and persons "who have had specialized foreign area training who wish to supplement this with a year's training in international relations." The International Relations Training Fellowships are granted for programs of up to two years. Stipends depend upon "the applicant's qualifications, experience, present position, family status, and special expenses, including transportation, which would be incurred in carrying out the proposal submitted."

The Ford Foundation also maintains Foreign Area Training Fellowships for graduate training in the social sciences and humanities related to Asia, the Near East, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Africa. "The purpose of these Fellowships is to help increase the number of American men and women who understand and can interpret the cultures, histories and current problems of these areas." The fellowships are designed "to encourage the combination of foreign area knowledge with training in a discipline. They are not designed to support the research projects of mature and established scholars." In general, applicants should

be under forty years of age, and they need not have had previous training relating to the foreign area of interest. Projects involving interdisciplinary or intercultural research will be considered. The Asian and Near Eastern and African programs may be undertaken in the United States or abroad or both. Programs involving study abroad, however, will ordinarily be considered only if the applicant has already acquired the necessary language facility and at least a minimum knowledge of the culture and history of his area of interest. In the Soviet Union and East European program, "post-doctoral applicants may include plans for the study of supplemental languages, disciplines and culture areas in or pertinent to the study of the Soviet Union and East European area." Fellowships are generally granted for a period of one year only. Stipends depend upon "the applicant's qualifications, experience, present position, family status, and special expenses, including transportation, which would be incurred in carrying out his program."

Foundation for Social Research (Freedom Center Building, 1521 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California) "Applications for research in social sciences are considered on their merits."

Fund for the Republic, Inc. (60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York) will grant fellowships for projects dealing primarily "in the area of civil liberties. The amounts vary considerably, depending on the time and research assistance required."

General Federation of Women's Clubs (1734 N Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.) supports a variety of fellowships and scholarships through its individual state federations. Inquiries should be sent to the state organization's headquarters, the addresses of which are available at the General Federation office.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) awards fellowships to candidates "of high intellectual and personal qualifications who have already demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship." The recipients are usually between thirty and forty years of age; their appointments are made ordinarily for one year; the stipends are "adjusted to the needs of the Fellows, considering their other resources and the purpose and scope of their studies. Members of the teaching profession who have received sabbatical leave on full or part salary are eligible for appointment." In some cases, the Foundation "may subsidize the publication of important contributions to knowledge produced by holders of Fellowships, but it does not undertake to aid in publishing all works so produced."

George A. and Eliza Gardner Howard Foundation (c/o R. B. Lindsay, 433 Westminster Street, Providence, Rhode Island) annually awards fellowships (usually four) "for work, study, or research in a chosen field in any portion of the world."

Applicants must have "demonstrated unusual capacity for productive scholarship, with marked talent or ability in one or more of the liberal arts." They must be "nominated by their institution or by an outstanding person in their field." Preference will be given to candidates between twenty-five and forty-five years of age. Appointments are made for an academic year; grants range between \$1,500 and \$5,000, depending upon the needs of the individual.

Cordell Hull Foundation for International Education (International House, 611 Gravier Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana) provides scholarships for "professors from the United States" to study in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino 9, California) awards fellowships to "mature scholars who are bringing significant research to completion" and whose project requires the use of the Library's resources, preference being given to "research in the general field of Anglo-American civilization." The stipend is \$4,000, and the fellowship is awarded for a one-year period. Unless other arrangements are made in advance, "the recipient of a Fellowship will be expected to offer the Library the results of his study for publication."

Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, New Jersey), through the agency of its School of Historical Studies, elects each year a limited number of temporary members. Mature scholars who hold regular academic positions are eligible for consideration. Election to membership "depends upon the previous accomplishment of the candidate, the scholarly promise of his program of research, and the interest in his project of some member or members of the faculty of the Institute. Membership may be voted for one term or for a full academic year and may in certain cases be renewed for a term or a year." The amount of each stipend varies. The Institute has no regular program of publication, but it does possess limited funds "to assist in the publication of a specially significant work done at the Institute."

Institute of International Education (1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York) administers a number of awards granted by foreign governments, foreign universities, private foundations, and educational organizations. These are primarily for graduate study in foreign institutions, not for post-doctoral research, but anyone interested in conducting historical research abroad should examine the conditions and terms of each award. These are set forth in the pamphlet *Foreign Study Grants*, issued annually and available upon request from the Institute. The IIE also publishes regularly a comprehensive *Handbook on International Study, A Guide for Foreign Students on Study in the United States and for U.S. Students on Study Abroad*. Although this is not intended "to provide information to individuals planning post-doctoral or advanced research projects . . . some material on these programs has been included where it seemed related to the basic content of the handbook." The IIE also receives applications for United States

government grants for graduate study abroad under the provisions of the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts.

Michigan Historical Commission (Lewis Case Building, Lansing 13, Michigan) grants John M. Munson Fellowships to authors of "satisfactory manuscripts in broad fields in the history of education. . . . Manuscripts accepted by the Commission will be published as a book in a series of volumes to be published by the Michigan Historical Commission on the history of education in the state. Fellowship will be in lieu of royalty and the ownership of the manuscript will be in the Commission. To supplement the fellowship and to enable the fellow to complete a manuscript in a reasonable time, grants-in-aid, in variable amounts, will be given to help bear the expenses of research and writing."

National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. (261 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York) invites two or three "promising young men or women holding university positions as Research Associates for one year." They work at the Bureau on "studies along the lines of their interest," but their projects should "complement and be complemented by investigations already under way or recently completed at the Bureau." Sometimes the project is "of a historical nature, but it is always a study in the field of economics." Stipends for the Research Associates are designed "to match the individual's income, taking account of such extra costs as he may be put to by moving to New York for a year."

National Science Foundation (Washington 25, D. C.) now includes in its program of financial support "basic research in the history, philosophy, and sociology of science." Postdoctoral Fellowships carry an annual stipend of \$3,400; tenure varies between six months and two years. A Fellow may pursue his research "at any accredited non-profit institution of higher education in the United States, or any similar institution abroad approved by the National Science Foundation."

Senior Postdoctoral Fellowships are granted "to individuals planning additional study and/or research with a view to (a) increasing their competence in their specialized fields of science or (b) broadening their experience in related fields of science. The primary purpose of these awards is to provide an opportunity for individuals several years past the doctoral degree to supplement their training; the fellowships are therefore not thought of as designed to provide support for research projects as such." Senior Postdoctoral Fellowships are available to United States citizens who have "demonstrated ability and special aptitude for advanced training and productive scholarship in the sciences" and convergent fields and who have held a doctoral degree for a minimum of five years or have had the equivalent in research experience and training. The annual stipend ranges between \$4,000 and \$10,000, the actual amount being individually determined and "based on the Fellow's normal salary . . . and on other support expected during the tenure of his National Science Foundation fellowship."

Newberry Library (Chicago 10, Illinois) has a "limited number of Staff Fellowships for mature scholars. Consult the Librarian."

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (applications handled by Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.) has established eight Research Fellowships "to encourage the study of historical, political, constitutional, legal, social, cultural, linguistic, economic and strategic problems that will reveal the common traditions, historical experience and give insight into the present needs and future development of the North Atlantic area considered as a Community." The NATO Research Fellowships are intended for established scholars, nationals of a member state, who are selected on the basis of their research projects and their special knowledge and experience. The amount of each fellowship is "French frs. 150,000 per month (or the equivalent in the currency of any other member state). The duration of the grant may be from two to four months. Research must be undertaken in one or more member countries and, in general, preference will be given to those planning to work on the other side of the Atlantic. First class travel by air will be provided."

Rockefeller Foundation (49 West 49th Street, New York 20, New York) has "no precise categories for assistance for historical projects," but the Foundation will "consider requests as they are received." Its grants "run from substantial appropriations to universities for large scale projects down to more modest fellowship allocations to individuals. Each request is decided on its merits and if a grant is made each project is supported to the extent of its needs."

Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation (Packard Building, 12th Floor, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania) "has never had any set pattern for granting aid," but individual requests for funds are discussed by all the trustees and each case is decided upon its merits. The size and duration of grants vary widely.

Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust (Harper & Bros., 49 East 33rd Street, New York, New York) offers fellowships "to creative writers who need financial assistance not otherwise available to complete work definitely projected. They are designed to encourage distinguished writing" in several fields, including history, as well as "outstanding jobs of reporting, needed popularizations of knowledge and original interpretations of cultural trends. . . . Works of pedantic scholarship . . . will not qualify." The fellowships are generally granted for a one-year period; the amount of financial aid depends upon "the applicant's need, the merits of his project and the funds available. As a general rule, no award of more than \$2,500 will be made to any applicant in any one year."

Leopold Schepp Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) has "no set program" but "is prepared to give fellowships . . . for research. Each application is considered on its own merits."

Social Science Research Council (726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers Research Training Fellowships "to persons who have demonstrated exceptional aptitude for research in social science and who wish to obtain more advanced research training than that provided in the usual Ph.D. program." In general, the age limit for these post-doctoral fellowships is thirty-five years. Their duration is normally one year, and "the basic stipend of \$2,500 per year . . . may be increased to not more than \$3,500 per year for post-doctoral fellows of some years' standing. . . . Fellowship stipends may be supplemented by allowances for partial support of dependents and for travel or other expenses incidental to the training program."

Fellowships in Political Theory and Legal Philosophy are "designed to encourage young scholars who are pursuing theoretical and philosophic studies to secure training through research or further study of legal and political thought and institutions." They are available for Ph.D. candidates and to those who have obtained the degree or a degree in law within the last three years. The stipend and other terms of the fellowships are similar to the Research Training Fellowships.

Faculty Research Fellowships "have a threefold purpose: to give recognition to young social scientists who early in their careers have demonstrated conspicuous research ability and promise; to provide opportunity for the greater realization of this promise; and to demonstrate the compatibility of good teaching and significant research activity in a variety of academic settings." A Faculty Research Fellowship "normally provides somewhat more than one-half of a faculty member's support for a period of three years, during which he will devote his released time to independent research while continuing to teach either intermittently or on a reduced schedule during the same period." These fellowships are open to regular faculty members of any accredited four-year college or university in the United States. In general, an upper age limit of thirty-five years at the time of appointment will be observed; candidates who have reached forty years of age are not eligible. "The specific conditions of each award will be arranged by negotiation with the fellow and his university or college."

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (19, avenue Kléber, Paris XVI, France) publishes *Study Abroad, International Handbook Fellowships, Scholarships, Educational Exchange*, which lists over 50,000 fellowships, scholarships, travel grants, internship programs, and other subsidized opportunities for study and research outside the United States. These awards, covering all fields of learning, are sponsored by the United Nations, by other international organizations, by governments, national institutions, and associations. Full details as to eligibility, field of study or research, duration, stipend, and place to apply are given for each award. *Study Abroad* is revised annually and is available in a paperbound edition through Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York.

STEPHENS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA, MO.

Assistance for Historical Research

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United States Government, International Educational Exchange Program awards grants for graduate study, teaching, lecturing, advanced research, and specialized training and observation under authorization of the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Three different agencies have been designated by the Department of State to handle the applications for these government awards: the Institute of International Education (1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York) receives applications for graduate study; the United States Office of Education (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D. C.) processes applications for teaching in elementary and secondary schools; and applications for university lecturing and advanced research are handled by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils (Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.).

At the present time, about 500 awards are offered annually for university lecturing and advanced research under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts. Approximately three fourths are for lecturing and one fourth are for advanced research. "In most of the countries of Western Europe, and in Australia and New Zealand, the responsibilities of the visiting lecturer are such that considerable time may be available for independent research. The scholar who wishes to conduct research but who has teaching experience which would qualify him for a specific lecturing assignment may find it advantageous to apply in the lecturing category or to indicate his willingness to serve in that capacity. In a number of the countries of the Near and Far East the visiting scholar may be expected to undertake a full teaching schedule but, in general, time is available for some research."

Applicants for visiting lectureships "are expected to have had at least one year of college or university teaching experience in the United States or abroad at a level equivalent to that for which application is made." Ordinarily they may lecture in English, but "in Austria, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and in certain Latin American countries lectures in English are usually acceptable only in the field of American language and literature." Applicants for awards as research scholars "are expected to have a doctoral degree from a recognized institution of higher learning in the United States or abroad *at the time of application*, or recognized standing in their respective professions." The research scholars should be proficient enough in the language of the host country to carry out their projects effectively. United States citizenship is a condition of eligibility.

Awards under the Fulbright Act are determined by the cost of living in the participating countries and vary from country to country. In general, the awards for university lecturers and research scholars include: round-trip transportation for the grantee (not for members of his family), a maintenance allowance which may be adjusted to take into account the living expenses of up to four accompanying dependents, and an incidental allowance. Grants in both the lecturer and research scholar categories are divided into two groups, one for those who have been professionally established for several years and one for relatively young

scholars. The awards are ordinarily made to coincide with the full academic year of the host country. The minimum period for which research awards will be granted is six months; for lecturing awards, one semester or the full session of an established summer school. Awards are issued for one country only. A lecturing or research award, particularly for a European country, is rarely renewed for a second year.

Details of these awards are described in pamphlets available from the Conference Board.

United States Naval Academy (Annapolis, Maryland) maintains the James Forrestal Fellowships in Naval History, open to candidates who have an interest in naval and military history and have demonstrated ability in research. "While fellows are expected to carry on their research chiefly at the Naval Academy, they are allowed appropriate freedom for travel in connection with their research projects. Fellows are provided office space and clerical assistance at the Naval Academy." The appointments are for one year, but they can be renewed. Stipends are adjusted to the needs of the fellows and generally range between \$3,000 and \$6,000 per year.

II. GRANTS-IN-AID

American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Permanent Science Fund Committee, 77 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts) disperses the income from its Permanent Science Fund in the form of grants "to aid in the advancement of knowledge through support of research in any field of science whatsoever." It should be noted that "history may be considered as among the sciences. The Committee distinguishes between those activities of scholars which are primarily problems of communication (such as publication) and those which are problems of uncovering new knowledge, and favors the latter in interpreting the term 'research.'" The average size of grants is about \$1,000; normally grants-in-aid do not exceed \$1,500.

American Folklore Society, Inc. (c/o MacEdward Leach, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania) offers a grant of \$100 "for the collection of folksongs."

American Numismatic Society (Broadway between 155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York) offers ten grants-in-aid for summer study at its Seminar in Numismatics held at its museum. The study-grants carry a stipend of \$500 and are open to "junior university or college instructors" with a doctorate degree.

American Philosophical Association (c/o William H. Hay, Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin) supports research in philosophy, "espe-

cially political and social philosophy," through grants which cover two thirds of an individual's salary, provided that the institution employing him pays the other third. "None of these grants could be said to be for research in history beyond the history of philosophy."

American Philosophical Society (104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania) provides grants-in-aid "for research in all fields of scholarship, including expenses in connection with the collection of material for research."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) awards "a limited number of grants-in-aid to qualified scholars for research and writing" in several fields, including cultural history. The grants do not exceed \$1,200 and "are awarded for special purposes."

Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington 3, D. C.) "offers a limited number of grants-in-aid for historical research in the Tudor and Stuart periods. These grants usually amount to about \$200 per month and rarely extend for more than six months. They are for the most part for post-doctoral candidates who have already demonstrated their capacity to do serious research. . . . Grants are for research to be conducted in the Folger Library and are not for research elsewhere."

Foundation for Economic Education, Inc. (Irvington-on-Hudson, New York) grants fellowships to college and university staff members "who are making a career in the academic field" and "who wish to devote six weeks to an on-the-spot study of a business firm." The six-week period generally is arranged in July and August; transportation costs plus a stipend of \$100 a week are paid to the fellow by the business firm.

Fund for the Republic, Inc. (60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York) maintains a grant-in-aid program to assist research projects dealing primarily "with current problems in the area of civil liberties. . . . The amounts vary considerably, depending on the time and research assistance required." In general, the duration of these grants-in-aid is one year.

John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation (916 Consolidated Building, 607 South Hill Street, Los Angeles 14, California) supports a program of summer grants for instructors and assistant professors in seven southern California institutions. "These awards are in the amount of \$750 each, and are to be used to complete an almost completed manuscript embodying a significant piece of research." Publication assistance is given for manuscripts prepared under a research grant from the Foundation.

Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (San Marino 9, California) awards grants-in-aid "to enable mature scholars to bring significant research to completion. Therefore, grants are not usually given for initial or exploratory research. . . .

Awards are normally made to scholars whose subjects require the use of the Library's resources. Scholars carrying on research in the general field of Anglo-American civilization will be given preference." Amounts and duration of the grants-in-aid vary with each individual case. Unless other arrangements are made in advance, recipients of a "substantial Grant-in-Aid" will be expected to offer the Library the results of their studies for publication.

New York State Historical Association (Cooperstown, New York) awards Dixon Ryan Fox Fellowship Grants "to encourage the publication of books of importance in the fields of social, political and military history and the folklore of New York State." Each grant is "tailor-made" to meet the special needs of the author, but "no more than \$1000 will be invested in any book and in each instance the grants are devised so as to create a revolving fund."

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) has no regular program of grants-in-aid, but "from time to time, it has aided individual scholars directly by the payment of traveling expenses, or indirectly by obtaining microfilms, photostats, and other materials for their research."

Robert Schalkenback Foundation (50 East 69th Street, New York 21, New York), organized for the specific purpose of promoting the principles of Henry George, has occasionally given grants-in-aid for research projects, though usually these are awarded to economists or economic historians.

Leopold Schepp Foundation (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) awards grants-in-aid, but it has no set program and each application is considered on its merits.

Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. (420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania) gives grants-in-aid for research dealing "with American-German cultural relations in the broadest sense of the word." The grants seldom exceed \$1,000, and each application is considered on its merits.

Social Science Research Council (726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers Grants-in-Aid of Research for the completion of small research projects that are already well under way. "Grants are available only to mature social scientists who are not candidates for academic degrees and whose capacity for effective research has been demonstrated by their publications." In general, these grants-in-aid are designed "to defray direct costs of research, including wages of clerical or technical assistants, collection and analysis of data, and travel expenses. Maintenance for a period of not more than a few months may also be provided in a limited number of cases." No grants under this program will exceed \$2,500.

The Council maintains a program of "Grants for Research on the History of American Military Policy and related technological, economic, or other factors

either here or abroad, for any period between 1750 and 1939 except the Civil War period." These awards are made only to historians and other social scientists possessing the doctoral degree or its equivalent, and no definite policy has been set as to the duration, nature, or amount of financial aid.

SSRC also awards Grants for Slavic and East European Studies. "Funds have been secured for grants for research, publication and conferences for scholars engaged in research in the social sciences or in the humanities relating to the U.S. S.R., the Baltic states, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia." The grants-in-aid under this program are offered on the same basis as the SSRC Grants-in-Aid of Research. Particular emphasis is placed on aid to scholars whose normal places of work are remote from the centers for study of these areas.

The SSRC sponsors a three-year program of Grants for Research on State Politics. These grants are available "to individual scholars possessing the doctoral degree or its equivalent, for research on political processes in a state or states of the United States. Preference will be given to projects that give promise of findings comparable with those of similar studies which have been or may be made in other states" and to studies of the legislative process in several states. "The grants may provide for research expenses, for maintenance of research workers, or both. The maximum grant may be approximately equivalent to the recipient's salary for an aggregate period of not more than twelve months, which may be either continuous or intermittent."

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City, Iowa) occasionally awards "honorariums" to scholars working on a biography or historical study in which the Society is particularly interested.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin (816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin), through its American History Research Center, annually makes a few grants for works in localized history anywhere in the nation. (Localized history means "state, local, or regional history treating significant local subjects which are relevant to the main stream of American development, avoiding mere antiquarianism and provincialism.") Awards are made "to those projects giving promise of producing significant interpretive studies in localized history. The amounts vary in accordance with the needs of the applicant and in no case cover salary."

III. AWARDS AND PRIZES

Abingdon Press (150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York) offers an Abingdon Award at approximately two-year intervals to the author of a book-length manuscript which "will accomplish the greatest good for the Christian faith and Christian living among all people." The contest is open "to manuscripts distinguished by technical research and scholarly application" as well as to those "in-

tended for popular consumption." Abingdon Press pays \$7,500 to the winner of the Award; \$5,000 of this amount constitutes an outright prize, the remaining \$2,500 is an advance against royalties.

Agricultural History Society (Room 3905, South Agriculture Building, U. S. Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington 25, D. C.) presents the Everett Eugene Edwards Awards each year to the authors of the two best articles published in *Agricultural History*, a magazine devoted "to the history of agriculture in all its phases." Both awards are worth \$50; one is offered for the best manuscript presented by a graduate student, the other is for the best article submitted by a more advanced scholar.

American Catholic Historical Association (The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.) established the John Gilmory Shea Prize "to stimulate and encourage historical writing by Catholics." The \$200 prize is awarded annually "for the published volume or completed manuscript which . . . has made the most original and distinguished contribution to knowledge." Preference is given to those works which deal with the history of the Catholic Church, although outstanding works by Catholics in other fields of history also receive consideration.

American Historical Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) sponsors the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph, in manuscript or in print, in the field of European history. The George Louis Beer Prize of about \$200 is awarded annually for the best work, in print or manuscript, on European international history since 1895.

The Albert J. Beveridge Award is given each year for the best complete original manuscript of 50,000 to 125,000 words on the history of the Western Hemisphere—American, Latin American, or Canadian history. The award carries a cash prize of \$1,000 and publication in the Beveridge series. Manuscripts cited for honorable mention are usually given free publication in the same series.

The John H. Dunning Prize of about \$140 is awarded in even-numbered years for a monograph, in print or manuscript, on any subject relating to American history. The Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize of \$100 is awarded by the Taraknath Das Foundation at five-year periods for the best work in the field of British and British imperial and Commonwealth history written by an American citizen. The next award will be made in 1961. In 1957, the Association, through funds made available by the Cornell University Press, will award the Moses Coit Tyler Prize of \$1,500 plus publication for the best manuscript submitted in the field of American intellectual history and biography. The Watumull Prize of \$500 is awarded biennially in even-numbered years for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States.

American Military Institute (1529 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) offers biennially a \$200 Moncado Prize for an original book-length manuscript in "any

field of United States military (including naval and air) history." Manuscripts are judged on the basis of thoroughness of research and quality of presentation as well as originality of contribution.

American Society of Church History (c/o Winthrop S. Hudson, 1100 South Goodman Street, Rochester 20, New York) awards biennially the Brewer Prize of \$1,000 for a "book-length manuscript in the field of church history, and if the competing essays are otherwise of equal quality, preference is given to those dealing with topics related to the history of Congregationalism."

Arkansas Historical Association (c/o Ted R. Worley, Old State House, Little Rock, Arkansas) annually offers the Stebbins Prize of \$100 for the best article-length manuscript (usually not more than 7,500 words) in the field of Arkansas history. All interested in Arkansas history are eligible, and any subject pertaining to Arkansas history is acceptable. The winning entry as well as others with special merit are published in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*.

Atlantic Monthly Press (8 Arlington Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts), in association with Little, Brown and Company, conducts the biennial Atlantic Non-Fiction Contest. All nonfiction manuscripts between 70,000 and 150,000 words in length, written in English, "typed, unpublished and distinctive" are eligible—including "historical subjects . . . provided they are not of so specialized and technical a nature as to be unsuitable for publication on the general trade list." The \$5,000 award is granted half as an outright prize and half as an advance against royalties.

B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations (165 West 46th Street, New York 36, New York) sponsor the Abram Leon Sacher Award of \$1,000, granted biennially to the author of "a significant unpublished, creative work of Jewish content." The winning manuscript is published as a Hillel Library Edition volume.

Bross Foundation (Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois) awards every ten years the Bross Prize of approximately \$7,500 for the purpose of encouraging research and writing "on the connection, relation, and mutual bearing on any practical science, or the history of our race, or the facts in any department of knowledge, with and upon the Christian Religion." The scope of the Bross Prize is so comprehensive "that any phase of science, of literature, of human history, or of modern life that may throw light upon the Christian Religion . . . would be a fitting theme for a book offered in the competition." Next award will be made in 1960.

Columbia University (New York 27, New York) awards annually two Bancroft Prizes of \$2,000 each "to the authors of the best works in American history in its broadest sense, American diplomacy, or American international relations. . . .

The word 'American' is interpreted to include the history, diplomacy, or international relations of all the Americas, North, Central, and South."

Two Loubat Prizes are awarded every five years "in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the History, Geography, Archaeology, Ethnology, Philology, or Numismatics of North America." First prize is \$1,000; second prize, \$500.

The Pulitzer Prizes in Letters, awarded annually by the Trustees of Columbia University, include a \$500 prize for "a distinguished book of the year upon the history of the United States" and a \$500 prize for "a distinguished American biography or autobiography teaching patriotic and unselfish services to the people, illustrated by an eminent example."

Conference on Latin American History (c/o Charles C. Cumberland, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan) sponsors an annual award of \$100, known as the James Alexander Robertson Memorial Award, for the best manuscript article submitted to the prize committee. The winning article is published in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*.

East Tennessee Historical Society (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville 2, Tennessee) offers an annual award of \$50 to the author of the best article published in the Society's *Publications*. "Papers must relate to some phase of the history of Tennessee—social, economic, political, constitutional, legal, religious, military, or biographical."

Elsevier Press (402 Lovett Boulevard, Houston, Texas) grants annually the Elsevier Southwest Literary Award of \$1,000 plus royalties for the best biography or history submitted by an author who is a legal resident of Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, or Arizona.

Friends of American Writers Federation (c/o Mrs. Harry Davidson, 730 Park Avenue, River Forest, Illinois) gives an annual Midwest Literary Prize of \$1,000 to an author who is a native or resident of the Middle West or an author who has published a book, fiction or nonfiction, with a Midwestern locale.

Sidney Hillman Foundation (15 Union Square, New York 3, New York) presents annually a \$500 Sidney Hillman Foundation Award for a "work of fiction or non-fiction dealing with race relations, civil liberties, trade union development, world understanding and related issues."

Houghton Mifflin Company (2 Park Street, Boston 7, Massachusetts) maintains the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship Awards for "projects in either fiction or nonfiction." At least fifty pages of the actual project, with an informal description of its theme and intention, must be submitted. The awards are \$2,400 each, one half of the total to be considered an advance against royalties.

Institute of Early American History and Culture (Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia) gives an annual prize of \$500 for the best nonfiction book published during the previous calendar year "in the field of early American history and culture up to 1815."

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York) sponsors the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize of \$500 plus a contract for publication. In even-numbered years, the award is given for books in political science; in odd-numbered years, for books in American history. In both cases, the manuscripts should be intended for lay readers rather than specialists. Any United States citizen under forty years of age is eligible.

Maryland Historical Society (201 West Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Maryland) sponsors the Sumner and Dudrea Parker Genealogical Awards. Three prizes, worth \$25, \$20, and \$15 respectively, are awarded "for the best papers on the pedigrees of Maryland families."

Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul 1, Minnesota) offers annually a \$50 prize, the Solon J. Buck Award, for the outstanding article published in *Minnesota History*.

Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association (c/o John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer, Whittier College, Whittier, California) offers the Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award of \$100 annually for the most deserving contribution to the *Pacific Historical Review*.

The Branch also awards \$100 annually for the best volumes submitted in the fields of American, European, and Pacific history by young scholars (preferably under thirty-five years of age), who reside in the states, provinces, and territories from which the Branch draws its membership and who have not previously published a book-length study. Entries may be in manuscript or printed form but must be of book length and of recent completion or publication, preferably within a year of the date of submission.

Philosophical Library (15 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York) sponsors the Philosophical Library Contest for the best essay, ranging in length between 75,000 and 150,000 words, on the philosophic and religious foundations of Americanism. The winner of the contest receives \$1,000 as an advance against royalties.

Royal Historical Society (96 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London S.W. 10, England) offers a triennial David Berry Prize for the best essay dealing with Scottish history within the reign of James I to James VI inclusive. Winner of the contest receives a Gold Medal and a Prize of £50.

Society of American Historians, Inc. (Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey) has inaugurated the Francis Parkman Prize of \$500 to be awarded annually "for a book in history or biography which has the highest literary distinction for that year."

Southern Historical Association (c/o Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky) offers in even-numbered years the Charles S. Sydnor Award of \$500 "for the best book in the field of Southern History." The Charles W. Ramsdell Award of \$100 is given in the odd-numbered years to the author of the best article published in the *Journal of Southern History* during that two-year period.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin (816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin) offers each year the David Clark Everest Prize in Wisconsin Economic History. The award of \$1,000 is made to the author of the best book-length manuscript contributing to the economic history of Wisconsin.

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (P. O. Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina) administers the Robert D. W. Connor Award sponsored by the Historical Society of North Carolina. The \$25 award is given to the author of the best article in *The North Carolina Historical Review* in the field of North Carolina history or biography.

Tamiment Institute (7 East 15th Street, New York 3, New York) offers annually a \$500 Tamiment Award for a "biography best exemplifying the invincibility of the free spirit and democracy."

United Daughters of the Confederacy (5530 Pershing Avenue, St. Louis 12, Missouri) awards triennially the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Award of \$1,000 "for the best unpublished book or monograph of high merit in the field of Southern history in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing upon the causes that led to secession and the War between the States. The life of any individual, or policy, or phase of life may be treated." The contest is open to college or university graduates of not more than ten years standing. The recipient of the Baruch Award must agree to use the money "as a grant-in-aid of publication," the full amount of the award to be paid only upon completion of publication arrangements.

University of London, Institute of Historical Research (Senate House, London W.C.1, England) sponsors a biennial award of £50 known as the Julian Corbett Prize for Research in Modern Naval History. The award will be made to the author of a manuscript not to exceed 15,000 words not previously published.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation (Woodrow Wilson House, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York), in cooperation with the American Political Science Association, grants a Woodrow Wilson Award of \$1,000 for "the best book of the year in the field of government and democracy."

IV. ASSISTANCE IN PUBLICATION

American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc. (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York) publishes *American Heritage, The Magazine of History* and will purchase suitable articles which run between 3,500 and 4,000 words in length. "Fees range from \$100 to \$250 depending on contents and length."

American Historical Association (400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.) has a Carnegie Revolving Fund to be used for the publication of a book-length manuscript in any field of history or historical biography. This fund is almost exhausted, however, and no award was made in 1956. The Littleton-Griswold Fund is used to publish volumes of legal documents selected by the committee in charge.

Association of American University Presses (c/o Mary D. Alexander, University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Illinois) publishes a *Directory* giving the addresses, names of officers, types of books published, and titles of journals printed by the member university presses and affiliated organizations. Almost all of these organizations underwrite, or subsidize, scholarly manuscripts. The terms and conditions of each contract are different, however; one quotation from the correspondence will suffice: "Books are taken under varying terms: at one extreme are those we pay for *in toto*; at the other are those on which we ask for a subsidy equal to the printer's bill." Those interested in the university presses should correspond directly.

Binfords & Mort, Publishers (Binfords & Mort Building, 124 N.W. 9th Avenue, Portland 9, Oregon), through the aid of the Peter Binfords Foundation, is able "to assist in the publication of books of historical and scientific interest to the people of the Pacific Northwest, providing these books would not otherwise be published."

Bollingen Foundation, Inc. (140 East 62nd Street, New York 21, New York) sponsors a program of publication under the name of Bollingen Series. These books include "original contributions, translation of works heretofore unavailable in English, and new editions of classics. Among its fields of interest are comparative religion, symbolism, mythology, philosophy, psychology, social anthropology, archaeology, cultural history, literary criticism, and aesthetics. In the selection of the volumes to be published in the Series, special consideration is given to scholarly works that would probably not be undertaken by other publishers." Although the fields in which the Foundation awards fellowships and grants-in-aid are in general the same as those with which the Bollingen Series is concerned, "there is no direct connection between the two programs, and there is no commitment to publish the results of research done under these awards" (see page 574).

Bookman Associates, Inc. (31 Union Square West, New York 3, New York) has a Scholarly Books Program in which volumes requiring a subsidy can defer a

portion of that subsidy out of sales. The amount varies with each book. The Bookman Monograph Series for Historical Studies is a recently inaugurated "program for the publication of scholarly and specialized studies in editions of 500 copies. Contracts require a subsidy, earnings from sales being used to repay the author. This generally takes the form of 25% royalty . . . until the return of the author's investment and for subsequent editions. Titles are kept in circulation for a minimum of three years after publication." If sales exceed five hundred copies, Bookman Associates will keep the book in print without cost to the author.

Connecticut Historical Society (1 Elizabeth Street, Hartford 5, Connecticut) is at present helping finance the publication of several volumes dealing with Connecticut history. The Society hopes to secure sufficient funds so that it can annually publish a work on Connecticut.

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (1703 32nd Street, Washington 7, D. C.) will accept manuscripts on historical subjects in its special field of interest (late classical, early Christian, and Byzantine, plus western medieval and Near Eastern if they involve relationship with Byzantium). Such manuscripts will be considered "for possible publication by Dumbarton Oaks regardless of whether the work was done at Dumbarton Oaks or not."

Far Eastern Association, Inc. (P. O. Box 2067, Ann Arbor, Michigan) has a monograph fund to bear the cost of publishing worthwhile monographs in the Far Eastern field. Inquiries should be addressed to the monograph editor, E. A. Kracke, Jr., 5716 Harper Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Friends Historical Association (c/o Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania) has a small fund from which occasional grants are made "to assist in the publication of books on some phase of Quaker history." Grants generally range between \$100 and \$200.

Rutherford B. Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation (Fremont, Ohio), for special projects in which it is particularly interested, "will give a royalty or award on publication of a book manuscript, and in some cases will assist with the costs of publication." The amount involved may range from \$1,000 to \$5,000. The primary field of interest of the Foundation and its Rutherford B. Hayes Library is "American history for the period 1865-1900."

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (University of Cincinnati Library Building, Cincinnati 21, Ohio) occasionally underwrites the publication of books within its special field of interest.

Institute of Early American History and Culture (Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia) selects book manuscripts for publication and pays whatever subsidy is required. "Each book is published under an individual contract. Most of these con-

tracts provide that after the Institute has recovered its subsidy through the sale of the book, whatever royalties accrue beyond that point are paid to the author."

Institute of Pacific Relations (1 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York) gives financial assistance "in arranging publication of research on Asian and Far Eastern affairs, mainly contemporary economic, political and social problems." The amount of each grant "varies considerably and depends on how a particular study fits into the Institute's own research program."

Jewish Publication Society of America (222 North 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania) "through the Jacob R. Schiff Fund is able to offer advanced royalties and full assistance in publication to any author submitting an acceptable outline or completed manuscript on American Jewish History."

Mediaeval Academy of America (1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts) publishes "occasional books; in such cases, the Academy's investment is ordinarily limited to half the cost of publication."

Mennonite Historical Society (Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana) "has a fund reserved for use in subsidizing the publication of monographs relating to Anabaptist and Mennonite history. The subsidy is usually in the form of a loan, to be paid back to the Society when the sales of the book are sufficient to pay for the publication costs. . . . The amount of the loan varies with individual cases."

New-York Historical Society (170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York) occasionally publishes at its own expense a manuscript in American history.

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) has published manuscripts on Pennsylvania history, but each project "has been judged on its own individual merits, its interest to the members of the Commission, and its value in filling a gap in the literature of Pennsylvania history."

Public Affairs Press (2162 Florida Avenue, Washington 8, D. C.) publishes "authoritative works which promote in some degree the advancement of knowledge and better understanding of the complex world in which we live." It invites relatively unknown scholars to submit their work and will from time to time make advances in connection with the preparation of manuscripts or arrange for special grants.

Vermont Historical Society (Montpelier, Vermont) assists in the publication of special books, "such as histories of towns in Vermont and Vermont subjects."

University of Rochester

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Reviews of Books

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General History

HISTORY IN A CHANGING WORLD. By *Geoffrey Barraclough*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 246. \$4.00.)

BECAUSE of its importance to all historians, this book deserves more space than is available for its review in the profession's leading American journal. Since the author is English, Arnold Toynbee's successor in the Stevenson Chair of International History in London, and a special student in the medieval field, it is doubtful that the book should have been sent to a reviewer whose major interest is American history. It is even more doubtful that I should have accepted the assignment, because Professor Barraclough saw fit to deal at some length with my attempt in *The Great Frontier* to say "what it is all about," to do, not perfectly he admits, the sort of thing he thinks ought to be done better and by more historians.

The book is important to historians because Barraclough tells them what a predicament they are in and how blind they are to their unfortunate situation. When the professors returned from the Second World War, they not only found their civilization in ruins, but they found that the verities and the concepts on which they had based their teaching and writing had perished and could not even be used as low common denominators in solving the problems of history. One of the verities accepted by historians was the balance of power formula, with its center in Europe. But "in 1945, when the dust of battle began to clear," there was no longer a balance of power. "Instead of a concert, there were two Great Powers, Russia and the United States, neither essentially European. . . ." What was the returned historian who had been so sure of his balance of power formula to do now that the platform which he thought so sturdy had fallen from under him?

This one example illustrates what many suspect, and what the author believes—that modern civilization has come to an ending and must perforce make a beginning. The historians have been caught in the crisis and are faced both with the task of explaining in terms that have not been discredited why it came about, to them so unexpectedly, and with the more difficult task of explaining the new age we are entering, which they did not foresee and do not yet understand. This crisis, which incidentally revealed the colossal failure of the historians, became apparent in 1945 and is followed by the author for the ensuing ten years.

Barraclough makes it pretty clear that the historians had abdicated before the

calamity happened. They had fallen deep into the "poverty of historicism." The author does not wrap this word historicism in a neat definition, but he develops a concept of it at some length. It results from the belief that history has continuity, that it evolves in an orderly manner, thus leaving out of account the fortuitous and catastrophic. It has some of Leopold von Ranke and much of Darwin in it. It explains best those periods in which little is happening. It leads directly to relativism, to the idea that everything is of equal importance and that nothing has much importance. It relieves the historian of taking a chance; it enables him to be objective because he would not be caught with an original idea or a suggestive hypothesis if he had one that would illuminate the dark wood wherein he is lost. Into the breach left by the historians afflicted with historicism have come such men as H. G. Wells, Spengler, and Toynbee, the last two trying to say what it all means. Barracrough does not accept them whole, or anyone else for that matter, but he does give them credit for trying, and he apparently believes that others should also try, in order to restore history's relation to reality and its usefulness to mankind. The book will hearten those who have not succumbed to historicism; it may cure some who have not progressed too far; and it will be of interest to all who are not in the last stages.

University of Texas

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

TOYNBEE AND HISTORY: CRITICAL ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. Edited by M. F. Ashley Montagu. (Boston: Porter Sargent, Extending Horizons Books. 1956. Pp. xvi, 385. \$5.00.)

ONE of the most interesting things about Toynbee's criticism is the dichotomy that has developed between the amateurs and the professionals. On the one hand, *A Study of History* has achieved a great popular success, especially in the United States, and has received a great many favorable and even ecstatic notices in the newspapers and popular journals. On the other hand, it has been subjected to severe criticism by the experts, especially the historians. *Toynbee and History*, which consists of some thirty essays and reviews of Toynbee's magnum opus written during the last ten years, is devoted mainly to this second type of criticism. Not all of these pieces are unfavorable to Toynbee, and scarcely one of them fails to pay tribute to his vast erudition, insights, and architectonic genius. But taken all together, they add up to a truly formidable indictment of the book which the editor rightly describes as "the most widely known work of contemporary historical scholarship."

The central count of the indictment concerns Toynbee's methodology. Reviews by Pieter Geyl, A. J. Taylor, Geoffrey Barraclough, and other historians charge him with system-building in the manner of St. Augustine, Herder, and Hegel. They repudiate his claim to be an empirical historian. On the contrary, they say, he imposes patterns on history, patterns which he had in his head from

the beginning; he bends the facts to fit his patterns, he oversimplifies, he does not weigh the evidence as an objective historian should. Toynbee's castigation of the "Modern Historians" as "antinomians" in his ninth volume has invited further criticism of his "schematism," his failure to appreciate the real complexity of historical data. Thus, *A Study of History* is a metaphysic perhaps, a theodicy, a prophecy—anything but history.

Other essays, notably the group dealing with Toynbee's treatment of geography and classical, Chinese, and Islamic history, question his facts in special areas and his use of Greco-Roman civilization as a pattern for all the others. Three concern themselves particularly with his representation of modern Judaism as a "fossil." Still others object to his antinationalistic bias and his "over-critical attitude to modern Western civilization." Geyl, for example, believes that Toynbee has been so carried away by his worship of "the idol Unity" that he has seriously underestimated nationalism as a factor in cultural construction. Both Geyl and Hans Kohn rise to the defense of Western civilization which Toynbee, following a modern fashion, so much laments. "Mr. Toynbee," says Kohn, "underrates the newness and greatness of Western civilization" (p. 357). Underlying many of these criticisms is a fundamental disagreement with Toynbee's recently developed thesis that civilizations exist not as ends in themselves, but as preludes to the birthing of "higher religions."

I am reminded at this point of what Geoffrey Barraclough says about Toynbee in another place. "However severely we may judge the particular reconstructions of a Spengler or a Toynbee," he observes in *History in a Changing World*, "they remain significant as the first positive reaction in the writing of history against the excesses of historicism. . . . Hence I find it hard to participate in the attitude of deprecation with which historians have greeted such work." Very few of his critics, Barraclough included, suggest that Toynbee is not worth reading. At the very least he can be read, as O. H. K. Spate suggests, as "an irritant stimulus to rethinking [our] own postulates" (p. 304). An intellectual historian might add that he can also be studied profitably as a symptom of new mental attitudes in a "changing world": the attempt to see the world as a whole and not in part, the disenchantment with modern Western man, and the new religiosity. The danger is, of course, that *A Study of History* will be read too literally, and not as philosophy of history, which it primarily is, or as a tract for the times.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

BÜCHERKUNDE ZUR WELTGESCHICHTE VOM UNTERGANG DES RÖMISCHEN WELTREICHES BIS ZUR GEGENWART. Edited by Günther Franz. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 544. DM 64.)

PROFESSOR FRANZ and twenty-two collaborators, each a specialist in the field of history he treats, provide in this volume a valuable supplement to the comparable

Herre-Hofmeister-Stübe bibliography of 1910 and the American *Guide to Historical Literature* of 1931. By editorial decisions, certain limits were placed at the outset upon the attempt to catalogue the literature of world history. The most basic of these decisions was to omit treatment of ancient history; a second, to include titles in all European languages—a bold and wise forward step—but to emphasize German-language titles and to omit titles in Asiatic languages; a third, the wisdom of which may be questioned, to give relatively little space to the historical literature of those countries, including Germany, for which well-known national bibliographies exist; a fourth, to regard the year 1952 as a terminal date in compiling the volume (this limit has occasionally been transcended); and a fifth decision was to include fewer and briefer evaluative annotations than those of the *Guide to Historical Literature*. Within these limits, the compilers have produced a highly valuable guide. A copy of it should be on the shelf of every serious reference library; in many colleges and universities it may profitably be used as a check list in evaluating library holdings in history and planning their expansion; academic historians, even specialists in United States and Latin American history, will find it a useful piece of office equipment; and graduate students who are just beginning research projects might well be sent first to this bibliography. But they should also be urged to look beyond it, for in spite of comprehensive and careful effort it is not complete, even within its announced limits. It may be indicative of the limitations of the volume to note that some or all of the works of the following authors are not included: R. A. Billington, Herbert Bolton, and Stow Persons in United States history; Alejandro Marure, Lorenzo Montúfar, and Bernard Moses in Latin American history; and, in various periods and areas of European history, Waldo Chamberlin, E. Garin, Louis Gottschalk, Philip Grierson, F. W. Maitland, Sir John Maynard, Charles Morley, Giulio Santangelo, and A. J. P. Taylor. These and some other omissions appear to have resulted from oversight rather than from a consistent policy of selection. But the over-all quality of this volume makes it certain that the scholars who produced it will receive the most lasting form of praise, widespread use of their work by fellow historians. Students should be encouraged to think of “Franz and others” along with the *Guide to Historical Literature* as part of their bibliographical baggage.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

MODERN SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Everett W. Hall*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. x, 483. \$8.00; text edition available.)

ONE of the very legitimate concerns of many intellectuals is that science in its modern phase is not concerned with values. Professor Hall raises the question: “Hasn’t physical science advanced too far, not in itself, but in its relation to our

knowledge of values?" A question such as this is well worth the asking, but the answers set forth in Hall's book will be of little value to the audience the author is attempting to reach.

A book must always be considered in relation to the author's aims. This book was not written for historians or scientists but for "inquisitive laymen in these fields, who, bewildered by the crosscurrents of contemporary thought, wish to get some perspective by means of an historical approach." The author also has in mind medical and engineering students and students in the humanities "who wanted an outlook on modern scientific method and its relations to human values other than that offered from the stony and narrow path of some actual scientific pursuit." The task is a difficult one, and this reviewer feels that the audience described above will not benefit too much from the reading of this work. Why? The author attempts to do too much at one time.

He proposes the thesis that there is a basic distinction between physical science and the study of values. Medieval man, he states rightly, studied physics as basically a study of values, "of goal behavior on nature's part." Medieval science and ethics were shattered by the scientific revolution, and Hall thinks that the study of values has been misunderstood by the logical positivists. Although he concedes that values cannot be investigated by the method of modern science, he does believe that "there are values and that, by a different method, they can be known." Such study is organized on the basis of examining the achievement of modern scientific method with material "drawn largely from the histories of dynamics and economics." The author hopes that his work will have the same place in the study of the "distinction of fact and value and its replacement of the amalgam of the two in men's thinking" that J. B. Bury's *The Idea of Progress* had in the study of the idea of progress. This admirable aim has been missed.

A basic problem is that the reader, who is not expected to have any specific knowledge of the subject, albeit he is intelligent, first has to embrace the author's own ideas on value theory. After absorbing this, the reader not only has to learn the new descriptive materials put forth by the author but also has to apply the analysis of fact and value constantly to the material. There might be no argument if the author cooperated with the reader, for such rigorous reading can be a delight. But just the opposite is true; the author is constantly in the reader's way, looking over his shoulder, so to speak. "If I may presume that the reader is not too weary of hearing what the Copernican revolution did not consist in . . ." and "I hope that I have made my point sufficiently clear . . ." are two samples. These interruptions are exasperating in and of themselves; but at the same time, the author, even though well aware of the many pitfalls of the study of the history of science, makes so many tentative statements that the reader becomes confused. The various phases of intellectual history are discussed; occasionally it becomes obvious that the author is attempting to illustrate his thesis, but again the reader becomes bogged

down in superfluous material. Some of the historical interpretation is open to question, and it is interesting to learn that "the seven liberal arts were all literary" (p. 18).

The author's contention becomes clear in the following statement: "We have not had to wait for 'the revolution of centuries' to find the optimism of 'unending progress' become old-fashioned if not completely obsolete. Whether the idea of value-free scientific knowledge has or will climb as high in the intellectual heavens may be doubted, but however high it climbs, it will, we may rest assured, sink again to be surmounted by some other star. What will that star be?—that there are values and that there is a way of finding them out?"

If the author is attempting to guide the general reader in the study of the development of science, it would have been of great help to supply a list of pertinent books to aid the reader in further investigation. Such a list is not to be found. This reviewer thinks that the works of Randall, Whitehead, and Butterfield are still the best material for the intelligent laymen. From these works, and many others as well, the reader will find a much more lucid account of the development of science.

Goucher College

GEORGE A. FOOTE

A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By *Otto L. Bettmann*. With a Foreword by *Philip S. Hench*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Publisher. 1956. Pp. xiii, 318. \$9.50.)

TIME was when it was taken for granted that a picture book was for children who could not read. Fortunately, we now recognize the value of adult visual education. In Bettmann's *Pictorial History*, the pictures themselves present the evolution of medicine, even without reference to the brief textual accounts on each page; but the book is no child's play.

Text and pictures (over nine hundred) occupy approximately equal portions of the 318 pages, which are divided into eleven chapters, starting with Egypt and the ancient East and ending with the nineteenth century. Each chapter consists of several topical sections, e.g., "Moses: Public Health Leader," "The Black Death," "Colonial America: Priest-Physicians Pray and Cure," "Osler: Giant of the Wards." Many of the pictures are from originals: ancient bas reliefs, medieval manuscript miniatures, renaissance paintings, museum relics, and ads or cartoons from modern journals. All reproductions are in black and white, and in some cases they are regrettably small or indistinct. This reader could have been spared the portraits of doctors (except for modern photographs, portraits are inaccurate indications of a man's actual appearance), to give space for more activity pictures. The captions are excellent, and I would have preferred more of them and longer ones, even to the exclusion of the descriptive sections. To be sure, the text, couched in readable,

popular language, is sprightly and interesting, but is so condensed as to present a journalistic type of history that fails to do justice to Dr. (Ph.D.) Bettmann's scholarship. Outstanding men often appear as supermen, reminiscent of the now outdated "great man" historiography. For example: "Paré salvaged his chosen profession from quacks on the one hand, and academicians on the other" (p. 124). Paracelsus is praised for having supplanted the "complicated herbal remedies" (which were relatively harmless) with "simple (metallic) substances" (which were sometimes dangerous).

Bettmann, the Ph.D., disapproves throughout of the booklearning and theorizing of academicians, whether they were medieval scholastics or modern scholars. To him, Albertus Magnus' ideas on sex are a "plethora of nonsense" (p. 83) and "how many angels could sit on the point of a pin" (p. 76) is typical of scholasticism. "Arabic-Aristotelian influence on medicine" made Salerno's progressively-practical healing art into "a bookish science. And of course that is no science at all" (p. 76). Such dicta have been relegated to the realm of modern historical legend by recent "bookish scientists" such as Lynn Thorndike and George Corner (M.D.). We could wish that M.D.'s might be weaned from historical legends more completely than is done in Bettmann's textual descriptions.

But the book deserves more than carping criticism. It is a popular book, intentionally so, as Bettmann once wrote me; and it is a useful and attractive one which will be widely read and will lead medical historians to avail themselves of the much greater pictorial resources of the Bettmann Archive.

University of North Carolina

LOREN C. MacKINNEY

MEN IN ARMS: A HISTORY OF WARFARE AND ITS INTERRELATIONSHIPS WITH WESTERN SOCIETY. By *Richard A. Preston, Sydney F. Wise, and Herman O. Werner.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. Pp. viii, 376. \$6.50.)

THE subtitle of this excellent work states accurately and succinctly the ambitious goal set for themselves by the authors. It must be said that they have succeeded admirably in their task—and in less than four hundred readable and informative pages. What distinguishes this work from its numerous predecessors and enhances its value is the emphasis placed on war as a social institution, as an expression of the political, social, and economic organization of society in each age. Thus, the Greek phalanx—a solid rectangle of infantrymen eight deep and armed with long spears—is shown to be a natural outgrowth of the institutions developed by the Greek city-states and the topography of the Greek peninsula. Similarly, the Roman legionary, the feudal knight on horseback, the condottiere, the sea dog of Elizabethan England, the redcoat of Cromwell's model army, the militiaman of colonial America, and the G.I. of World War II—each in his own way was an embodiment of the society in which he lived. The military organization to which he belonged, the way he was clothed, fed, armed, and transported to battle,

the formations he adopted, the way he fought, and even his morale, reflected the political beliefs, social structure, economic resources, and industrial development of his day and age.

As war has been shaped by society, so it in turn has shaped the political and social structure in every period. It was the military success of Athens that was responsible in large degree for the Golden Age of Pericles, the Roman Legion that laid the basis for the Pax Romana, and sea power that spread the civilization of Western Europe to all parts of the world and made possible the conquest of America and Africa.

From earliest times, the demands of war have had a direct effect on economy and technology; in more recent times, the industrial and scientific resources of nations have been so closely harnessed to warfare as to constitute the basis of military power. Political and social organization, too, has been profoundly influenced by war, and few will deny the role of gunpowder and professional armies in the decline of feudalism and the rise of the national state.

Viewed thus as a social institution shaped by and shaping the civilization that gave it birth, warfare takes its rightful place as one of the great forces in the history of mankind. It is to the credit of the authors that they have taken this broad view of their subject, thereby reminding us of the validity and importance of the study of military history. This is a book that both the professional military man and the interested citizen will read with pleasure and profit.

Arlington, Virginia

LOUIS MORTON

DEFENSE AND DIPLOMACY: THE SOLDIER AND THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS. By *Alfred Vagts*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 547. \$8.75.)

THERE has long been an imbalance in the historiography of international relations in favor of the diplomat and in neglect of the soldier. Dr. Vagts's task has been to take a first step toward redressing the balance, and there is no question that he has done so. Since he has not intended to write a definitive account of the diplomatic-military relationship but only a counterweight to the past, there can be no justified criticism if he has swung too far in the opposite direction by emphasizing the military factors. In this series of historical essays, he has undertaken to describe the role of the military expert in the exceedingly complex business of framing and conducting foreign relations. Nineteenth-century Europe receives major attention, but the general formula for each chapter is to deal with Western civilization from the Age of Absolutism to the present with occasional reference to other areas and earlier times. Continental Europe prior to the First World War provides rich documentation for Vagts, and he has made good use of it. The modern period, however, contains valuable materials which were not tapped. As a result, there is serious doubt that the soldier's role in the last twenty-five years has been accurately portrayed.

The various parts that military experts have played in international affairs are treated topically. Soldiers as diplomats, as advisers for and against war, and as peacemakers are given separate chapters. Military intelligence, military missions, and military staff conversations all receive separate historical treatment. The place of mobilization and the value of military demonstrations in diplomacy are similarly covered. The topical approach naturally leads to a certain qualitative and quantitative unevenness arising out of the nature of the subject matter and the source material. Each reader will make his own assessment, but this reviewer found most informative the discussions of military conventions, preventive war, and mobilization, particularly as they apply to the present. On the other hand, the most provocative chapter is that dealing with strategy and diplomacy.

In discussing the sensitive relationship between the soldier and the diplomat, objectivity is essential. Despite an occasional unsupported statement attributing individual sins to the military as a whole, there is little of civil or of military bias in this book. It is only in dealing with Franklin D. Roosevelt as a "war-dictator" and in employing a Beardian concept of America's entry into World War II that the author lapses from a high standard of objectiveness.

In view of the variety of ways in which democratic and authoritarian nations have met the problems and rivalries of diplomats and soldiers, the author has correctly avoided sweeping generalizations, and for the most part he has refrained from drawing conclusions of his own. His facts, however, and there are an astonishing number of them, will make it possible for the careful student to cull valuable historical judgments from this work.

This reviewer has reached the conclusion that the author sees only one way to attain proper coordination between strategy and policy. There must be, even in a parliamentary system of government, a strong executive, with comprehensive views, who knows how to make full use of his civilian ministers and military advisers. In no other way can specialization and compartmentalization be overcome. Although soldiers and diplomats have not been free of error in the past, both have frequently had sound advice to offer, and both must be heard. There is no question that policy makers and strategists who are struggling to understand the nature of the cold war, and to meet the problems which it raises, would profit from the clear look at the historical perspectives which *Defense and Diplomacy* reveals.

Princeton University

GORDON B. TURNER

LA DISPUTA DEL NUOVO MONDO: STORIA DI UNA POLEMICA, 1750-1900. By *Antonello Gerbi*. (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. 1955. Pp. x, 783. L. 4,500.)

For obvious reasons, the historians of our generation have turned to the relations between Europe and America as a historical problem of the first rank. It is a

problem which is forbiddingly complicated by its magnitude—since it extends into the fields of geology, biology, and anthropology as well as into the more familiar spheres of economic, social, and cultural connections. It is further obfuscated by the familiar gulf between the facts and what men thought were the facts, for the views which Europeans and Americans have held on the relationship between their continents have been both all-encompassing and—as the personal experience of travelers can still attest—incompatible. The historian, then, is confronted with the enormous task of establishing the relationships while treating much of the overt testimony not as direct evidence but as an additional historical problem. It is this problem which is the subject of Gerbi's book. His stimulus has been precisely "the hyperbolies and the calumnies" which have bulked so large in the comparisons of the New World with the Old, and his objective has been to clear this ground by a historical analysis of the genesis and development of such ideas. He has succeeded admirably, and in so doing he has created a model for the writing of intellectual history.

The central theme—which doubles as Gerbi's canon of selection from the voluminous material—is the complex of ideas first propounded in the middle of the eighteenth century by Buffon about America's natural environment and its fauna and extended by De Pauw shortly thereafter to American men and societies. This Buffon-De Pauw thesis, which was built around the notions of the physical "immaturity" of the New World and the "weakness" and "decadence" of its denizens, gave a system and an identifiable form to the antipathetic attitudes toward the Americas. It provided, thereby, a focus which crystallized sympathetic and hostile views alike into a running debate. Using this thesis as his organizing principle, Gerbi follows the "polemic" through the whole galaxy of writers—familiar and unfamiliar, American and European, Anglo-Saxon and Latin—who participated on either side of it. The argument developed until it reached its apogee in Hegel, and, appropriately, Gerbi concentrates on the period between 1750 and 1830. After Hegel, the issues unraveled into discrete prejudices and the debate lost its coherence. For Gerbi's purposes, consequently, the bulk of the nineteenth century is simply an epilogue.

The strength of the work, however, lies not in the specific story of the polemic but in the skillful weaving of the general movement of ideas around it. The hermeneutical advantage of the debate on the Buffon-De Pauw theme is that it involved views on nature, history, and culture; and Gerbi makes full use of this many-sided issue to follow its roots into the philosophy, the science, the politics, and the personalia of its antagonists. So full, indeed, is Gerbi's intellectual analysis that it frequently seems to transcend his avowed purpose of explaining the ideas on America by their context; the ideas on America seem at times to provide merely the thread of continuity for a general intellectual history.

The book is organized around individual writers, a method which has the defects of its virtues. It affords large scope for Gerbi's masterful, intensive analysis

of ideas, his feeling for the humanity in history, and his graceful, urbane style; at the same time, however, it leads to repetition and looseness of organization which contribute to the inconvenient bulk of the book. But these are only minor weaknesses in an altogether admirable study. The net result is a work that is part monograph, part synthesis, and partly a series of vignettes. Common to all these parts is a notable achievement. The subjective side of European-American relations now has the pilot study which integrates it into the unified framework of an Atlantic civilization. This is a giant stride in the direction that historiography must take.

Yale University

LEONARD KRIEGER

CHINA AND SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Henry Wei*. With an Introduction by *Quincy Wright*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. xvi, 379. \$7.75.)

Dr. Wei examines the "long course of Sino-Soviet relations" with a view to finding an answer to such questions as: "How did Soviet Russia transform weakness into strength and rise from an impotent to a dominant position in China? What were the policies and tactics of Soviet diplomacy? How did China react to these policies and tactics? What initiatives did China take in dealing with Russia? How did the attitudes and policies of third powers affect Sino-Soviet relations? How did Sino-Soviet relations affect, and how were they affected by, the internal developments of the two countries? What is the nature and scope of the cooperation between Communist China and Soviet Russia? Is there any sign that the cooperation may not last?" (pp. ix-x). The data on which the author's conclusions are based are presented, as he says, in a "clear and orderly account of the significant diplomatic motives, tactics, setbacks, and successes" of the past thirty-five years of relationship. This account is preceded by a brief description of the 1911 Chinese revolution and the Russian revolution of 1917 and a short treatment of the attempts made by the Soviet Union to enter into diplomatic relations with the northern military regimes in control at Peking in the 1920's. Chapters iii and iv ("The Rise of Soviet Influence in China" and "The Eclipse of Soviet Influence in China") cover the first phase of Kuomintang-Communist relations. Here, as also in the introductory chapters, the treatment would have been strengthened if the author had dealt more extensively with internal developments in China from the point of view of interparty relations and had examined in more detail the structure of international Communism and the position of the national Communist party in that structure.

Chapters v-xi follow relationships through the Manchurian and North China crises of the 1930's and the war period to the victory of the Communist party on the mainland. The chief emphasis is on Russian policy toward Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and Sinkiang province, as that policy affected Sino-Soviet relations, and

on Japanese and American policy as it affected those relations and was affected by them. In chapter xii ("China's Accusation of the USSR in the United Nations"), Wei brings into the open and examines acutely the problem facing the Nationalist government in securing an international examination of its case against the USSR. He analyzes the 1950 treaty and agreements concluded between the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union and appraises the results of Sino-Soviet cooperation during the past five years. In the concluding chapter ("Summation and Interpretation"), the author gives an admirable summary of the record presented and draws his own conclusions. Ten appendixes, a detailed bibliography, and an index add to the value of the volume.

This is a book which, as Professor Quincy Wright states in his introduction, "all who have views on Far Eastern policy" should read. It also has importance for the student and statesman who are "interested in the world problems centering in the Far East."

University of Cincinnati

HAROLD M. VINACKE

Medieval History

MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA. By *W. Montgomery Watt*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 418. \$6.75.)

THIS is a fresh, careful—perhaps too careful in parts—study of the Medinese period (A.D. 622–632) in the life of Muhammad. It is issued as a sequel to *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953) by the same author, professor of Arabic at Edinburgh. Based on original sources, such as ibn-Hisham, ibn-Sa'd, al-Waqidi, al-Baladhuri, al-Tabari, the work takes due consideration of the researches of modern critical scholars including Caetani, Lammens, Wellhausen, and Wüstenfeld; but Caussin de Perceval (Paris, 1847), repeatedly cited (pp. 85, 92, 110, 133, 138), is out of place in this company. A seemingly disproportionate part of the volume is devoted to the battles and expeditions of the Prophet, the internal politics of Medina, and the unifying of the Arabian tribes, but the justification is obvious. The new religion established by Muhammad at Medina has been the subject of much more intensive research than the politico-military community established conjointly. Even in connection with the much studied koranic legislation of Muhammad, Watt makes a contribution by throwing fresh light on somewhat obscure points or illuminating entirely dark ones. The legislation against usury was not due to the wrong attitude toward wealth exhibited by the rich merchants of Mecca; it was directed primarily against the Jews of Medina (p. 296). Gambling was prohibited not so much for its economic evils as for its association with the pagan religion; the same may have been true of the prohibition of wine (p. 299). That curious passage in the Koran (4:6) which is usually taken to mean "You shall not marry more than four" may be construed as encouragement

for men who had only one wife to marry as many as four and to establish multiple virilocal families. Muhammad's own marriages were virilocal, though each of his wives had her own apartment (pp. 274-75). Watt finds no solid ground for thinking that Muhammad's character declined after the Hegira.

On the whole, the image of the Prophet that emerges from this new study does not vary radically from the one hitherto held by critical scholars.

The more one reflects on the history of Muhammad and of early Islam, the more one is amazed at the vastness of his achievement. Circumstances presented him with an opportunity such as few men have had, but the man was fully matched with the hour. Had it not been for his gifts as seer, statesman, and administrator and, behind these, his trust in God and firm belief that God had sent him, a notable chapter in the history of mankind would have remained unwritten (p. 335).

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

THE LATIN CHARTERS OF THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD. By F. M. Stenton. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 103. \$1.70.)

SIR Frank M. Stenton's latest book, composed of three lectures delivered at Kings College of the University of London in 1954, is a plea both for a modern edition of all extant Latin charters of Anglo-Saxon England and for a new appreciation of what these records tell about Old English society. In three chapters, this eminent historian has distilled a number of pithy reflections on those solemn documents that recorded royal grants of land and privileges. The first chapter, dealing with charters and their criticism, is a fine résumé of the scholarly editorial work thus far accomplished, from Kemble on through Harmer, Whitelock, and Robertson. Special tribute is rendered to W. H. Stevenson, who is credited with initiating the modern study of Anglo-Saxon diplomatics. This leads to a learned discussion of the methods by which the authenticity of a charter is established. Thrown in here is the warning, excellently documented, that inflexible scientific standards of diplomatics often result in labeling authentic charters as spurious. It is, for example, unwise to find a charter false merely because it contains formulas not found in "authentic instruments of its reputed date."

The second chapter traces the development of the charter in form and in substance. Stenton shows that the Anglo-Saxon diploma was introduced into England during the age of Theodore of Tarsus and Wilfrid and that by the ninth century its customary form was established. For the student of administrative institutions, it should be noted that Offa, king of Mercia, seems to have been the first king who employed a group of clerks to accomplish the royal writing and that under Athelstan there was a staff of trained writers well versed in an insular script. The third chapter treats the last century of the charter, roughly from 950 to 1066. During this period the solemn charter was replaced by the writ which, appropriated by the Normans, became a key instrument in the development of their efficient government. Studying all the pertinent charters scholars have employed

to show the existence of a chancellor under Edward the Confessor, Stenton proves beyond doubt the spuriousness of the principal evidence and thus removes the Old English chancellor from pre-Norman history.

The historian will read with most interest and profit what Stenton writes about the value of the charter for Anglo-Saxon history in the tenth and eleventh centuries. From his intensive study, he shows that the charters permit the historian to plot the settlements which developed in southern England a century before 1066. He contends that concentrations of settlements described by Domesday Book were well established in the midlands and the south by 975, and that, furthermore, for taxation they had been brought into a fiscal organization resembling that used for assessing the Danegeld in the eleventh century. Behind the round numbers of hides assigned to various regions of England by such documents as the Tribal Hidage, there were undoubtedly round numbers of *mansae* or *cassati* denoting the agrarian capacity of an estate. In 944, for example, King Edmund donated eight *mansae* at Brimpton in Berkshire to one of his officers. In 1066 this estate was divided into two manors, one assessed at four and a half hides and the other at three and a half hides. Less convincing is the observation that when charters described boundaries of land, it was in terms of village communities. In the light of what Stenton has previously said about Anglo-Saxon communities, he is undoubtedly thinking here of his beloved agrarian villages of free farmers. But simply because peasants lived in communities does not prove that they were free and ordered their communal affairs.

Packed with erudition and meaning, this little book reminds us once again that the small books of the most mature scholars are often the most significant.

University of Illinois

BRYCE LYON

ALFRED THE GREAT. By *Eleanor Shipley Duckett*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 220. \$3.75.)

THIS brief and readable "life and times" of Alfred the Great is a valuable addition to historical literature. Miss Duckett has skillfully made the most of our meagre knowledge of King Alfred's career. While she has not neglected the cluster of legends which adorn his name, she has carefully distinguished between legend and history. The last twenty years have seen a great advance in our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon period and Miss Duckett has fully utilized this research. She has been peculiarly successful in placing Alfred in his historical background. The England of his day is depicted with colorful simplicity. An account of the culture which produced the Vikings precedes the story of their raids, and the Norse attacks on England are seen in their proper perspective as a part of a widespread assault on Western Christendom. While the Norsemen ravaged Northwestern Europe, Saracens menaced Rome.

Perhaps the most valuable part of this little book is the discussion of Alfred as a student and scholar. Miss Duckett tells us of the men of learning whom

Alfred gathered at his court. She gives highly effective brief accounts of the works Alfred and his scholars translated into Anglo-Saxon and indicates their relevance to the problems of Alfred's England. Here, however, one omission leaves the historian a little perplexed—there is no discussion of Alfred's connection with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles.

This reviewer suspects that Miss Duckett is deluded in one respect—her belief that this is a very simple book for people who know nothing of Alfred except that he burned some cakes. Miss Duckett's style is simple and direct, but her mind ranges far. The reader with an inadequate knowledge of the history of Europe in Alfred's time is likely to be thoroughly baffled by her very compact account of a most complicated subject. For the historian or the well-read layman, this book is a stimulating summary of the career of an important historical figure carefully and skillfully placed in its proper setting, but I fear it may be confusing to one who has no idea how the Saracens got to Rome or who Arnulf or St. Cuthbert were. Moreover, Miss Duckett lays an additional trap for the unwary reader. She is a little casual in her use of terms. Charles the Bald certainly did not live in what most historians think of as a castle, and serf is not a safe term to use in connection with Anglo-Saxon society. Even the "knighting of Athelstan" seems a rather odd expression in reference to Alfred's day. These are, however, very minor criticisms. Miss Duckett has produced a charming and useful book which her colleagues and their students will read with both pleasure and profit.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

LES FONDEMENTS DU RÉGIME FONCIER AU MOYEN AGE, DEPUIS LA CHUTE DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN EN OCCIDENT. ETUDE DE DOGMATIQUE ET D'HISTOIRE DU DROIT. By *Joseph Balon*. [Etudes Publiées par la Section Belge de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'Etats, VII.] (Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts. 1954. Pp. 198. \$3.00.)

THIS slim book advances a revolutionary thesis: the allod, instead of being a marginal, occasional, or even exceptional type of property right in medieval law, should be understood as the most important and central type, the major right to which all others, fief, benefice, censive, etc., were relative or from which they derived. So understood, the allod would give system and unity hitherto missing in the history of the medieval law of property; further, it would force readjustment of our views on the domain or *seigneurie* and on other main institutions of feudal society. All this, because the legal concept claimed here as the meaning of allod included not only complete powers of disposition over the subject of the allodial right but powers of jurisdiction over the land concerned and its inhabitants.

The crux of the thesis lies in a number of contentions as to what the allod was in the period from Clovis to the tenth century: the allod began as rights in land

of Salian Frank *potentes*, rights that affected extensive domains or complexes of domains; the allod carried with it, from the sixth century, all the powers of jurisdiction that we connect with the later *seigneurie*, *haute justice* apparently included; and the Salian allod became the prevailing, general form of large property holdings over the territory of the Carolingian empire, even before the Carolingian period. For this reader, these contentions are not supported to a sufficient degree by positive evidence. They start from a bold interpretation of the famous clause in Salic law: *de terra vero salica nulla portio hereditatis mulieri veniat*. Balon claims that this *salica terra* is the allod in the full sense of the concept as stated above, that the concept of allod involved something more in rights than either *hereditas* or *proprietas* of Roman Law (which is why a German word was used), and that this something more was seignorial powers (jurisdiction essentially) over large estates or territory. But I find, in the long and diffuse argument (chapters v and vi), more defensive polemic against other interpretations than substantial evidence that an allod with these characteristics came to be a prevailing western type of large landholding, as a result of the extension of Merovingian power and conquest. Even if we admit (as I am not disposed to) that the Salian Franks exerted effective political control and influence over territory that included the Pyrenees region, northern Italy, and German territory as far as Denmark, this is not in itself proof that they spread their particular type of allod (*salica terra*) all through these lands as a means of bringing administrative order. We may accept as reasonable Balon's explanation as to why, if allod was the term that applied to nearly all large landholdings, the sources so rarely mention the term in that connection—but we still lack source evidence on the positive side. The fact that place names possibly derived from *allod* or *salica* can be found in most of these regions tells us nothing as to the size or character of the original holdings related to these names and hardly seems to prove that the territory concerned was *terra salica* or allod in a technical sense. Above all, I find only conjecture and inference to support the theory that allods or *terra salica* involved the powers of the later *seigneurie*, above all *haute justice*.

If the foundation of the theory—the character of the Merovingian-Carolingian allod—remains hypothesis, so does the evolution of such an allod in later centuries as the basic form from which to start discussion of feudal and domainial property rights. Balon rightly claims that his concept of the allod can given coherence hitherto lacking to the medieval history of property law. But will many readers accept the implication that such coherence is in itself a strong ground for accepting the theory? Or share his opening premise of faith that men, as intelligent beings, should be expected to develop a coherent system (“*oeuvre de raison*”) in any period of history?

Harvard University

CHARLES H. TAYLOR

THE SLAVS: THEIR EARLY HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION. By *Francis Dvornik*. [Survey of Slavic Civilization, Volume II.] (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1956. Pp. 394. \$6.00.)

FRANCIS DVORNIK's new book grew out of a course of lectures given in the Slavic Department of Harvard University in 1951. At the suggestion of Roman Jakobson, the author, as he says in his preface, decided to develop the lectures "quite extensively in order to make the book useful also to scholars not familiar with early Slavic history." In its present form, the work "is intended to be a handbook on early Slavic history and civilization for students in history, as well as for a larger public, and, at the same time, to give to specialists in Slavic studies a succinct account of the present state of research on the many problems connected with the historical and cultural development of the Slavic nations, from their origins to the middle of the thirteenth century, when an important phase in their history came to a close." In his bibliography, the author has limited himself "to works in non-Slavic languages, on the assumption that it will be easy for any student desiring to consult works in Slavic to complete his bibliography from the works indicated." There is also a list of main sources for each chapter.

Dvornik's new work partly overlaps the field covered in his previous book, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (1949). These two books supplement each other, but the new book is wider in scope and more systematically arranged. It begins with chapters on the "Origins and Migration of the Slavs" and "Primitive Slavic Civilization." The historical narrative starts with the period of the Avar Empire (sixth to the early ninth centuries) in "The Franks, Byzantium and the First Slavic States," followed by two chapters on the Moravian Empire and its destruction and chapters entitled "The Southern Slavs, the Franks, Byzantium and Rome" (ninth to the early eleventh centuries), "Old Slavonic Culture and Literature and Their Byzantine Background," and "The Russia of Kiev." In "The Slavs at the Crossroads," the author discusses the possibilities of the formation of a great Slavic state in Central and Eastern Europe in the late tenth and the early eleventh centuries in connection with Emperor Otto III's new conception of the Roman Empire. The last three chapters deal with "The Slavs, the Empire, and the Papacy" (eleventh and twelfth centuries), "The Baltic and Polabian Slavs" (and their Germanization), and "The Downfall of Poland and Bohemia" (twelfth and early thirteenth centuries).

The outline of early Slavic history and civilization is presented against the background of the Byzantine and general European history; the Slavs appear—as they should—as an important factor in the making of the medieval European society. Less attention is paid by the author to the Oriental background of the early Slavic, and especially Russian, history. The author's main theme is the important role played by Byzantium and Byzantine civilization in the history of Central and Eastern Europe. In his opinion, a blending of Byzantine and West-

ern cultures seemed quite feasible in the ninth and the tenth centuries. That it did not materialize is one of the "missed opportunities" of European history.

There are many points in Dvornik's book to which the reviewer would take exception (as, for example, the approach to the problem of the original home and migrations of the Slavs, as well as of the origin of the name Rus). The reviewer has recently presented his interpretation of these problems in his study "Das frühe Slawentum: Das Ostslawentum bis zum Mongolensturm," *Historia Mundi*, V (1956).

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Numbers 9 and 10. Edited for the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Washington, D. C., by the Committee on Publications. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 316. \$10.00.)

THOUGH it bears numbers nine and ten in the series to which it belongs, this is a single volume which contains eight major and three minor studies. Dedicated to the late Alexander A. Vasiliev, it includes a biographical sketch of that distinguished scholar by Sirarpie Der Nersessian. The subjects covered by the studies fall into a number of categories—historical, literary, liturgical, and archaeological. Vasiliev offers two articles, published posthumously. In the first, he brings together the sources relating to the edict of the Caliph Yazid II, issued in 721, outlawing icons in the churches of his realm. In the other, edited by Marius Canard, he delves into the problem of Arab-Byzantine relations before Islam. Canard himself makes public, in French, an interesting Arabic tale, the story of the experiences of an Arab prisoner in Byzantium and a Byzantine prisoner in Bulgaria. An article by Francis Dvornik examines the problem of the transmission of Byzantine political ideas to Russia, analyzes the sources, and comes to the conclusion that the Byzantine "basic ideas on the relationship between the church and rulers, and on the rights and duties of rulers, were accepted by the Russians and put into practice from the end of the tenth century onward." Dvornik's observations are very reasonable, but his statement that in Byzantium the patriarch's role in the coronation ceremony "was limited to the blessing of the imperial vestments, and of the imperial diadem which the emperor placed on his own head" is inaccurate.

H. J. H. Jenkins and Cyril A. Mango offer convincing proof that the tenth homily of Photius was delivered about 864 at the dedication of the reconstructed Church of Our Lady of the Pharos, located in the Great Palace, and not in 880, at the dedication of the New Church built by Basil I. The homily is significant because it has some bearing on the history of Byzantine art in the ninth century. Egon Wellesz, the foremost authority on Byzantine music, investigates the history of the "Akathistos" (one of the most famous hymns of the Eastern Church), its poetical structure, and its music and comes to the conclusion that it must have

been composed by the great Byzantine hymnographer, Romanus. The tradition attributing the authorship of the poem to Romanus is so slight, however, that this conclusion may be questioned. One is also surprised to find that the besiegers of Constantinople in 626 were Persians. Drawing on new sources, Oliver Strunk seeks to reconstruct the Byzantine Office as it was celebrated in the great Church of Saint Sophia. His work, however, is somewhat lacking in clarity. Ernst H. Kantorowicz attempts to answer the question whether the ritual feet-washing on Maundy Thursday had any significance other than that of humility and charity. Texts and objects of art concerned with, or depicting, the Laving of the Feet and antiphones sung during the ceremony itself indicate the existence of two traditions. The one held by Rome gave to it only the significance of humility and charity; the other, developed in the East and in Milan, added baptismal significance and tended to associate it with the baptism of the Apostles. The author has delved into his problem with characteristic thoroughness, but some of the material which he introduces seems to be irrelevant.

Paul A. Underwood describes the paraclesion of Kariye Čamii (the Chora), the state of the paintings of its walls before they were cleaned, the process and the technic of cleaning, and the paintings themselves; the cleaned paintings are reproduced in black and white. In a minor report, he gives us an account of the work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul for 1954. A note by Glanville Downey, in which he seeks to clear the confusion which contradictory texts concerning the Church of All Saints in Constantinople have created, completes the volume.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

Modern European History

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

By *E. Harris Harbison*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1956. Pp xi, 177. \$3.00.)

THE Christian scholar has been little heralded in comparison with the prophet and the saint. These too often have looked upon him askance, and he has had his own misgivings as to his calling. Is Christianity compatible with pagan learning? Is Christianity compatible with learning of any sort? Does not learning engender pride and may not delving in documents dampen zeal? Yet despite inner conflicts the Christian scholar has had a conviction with regard to his vocation. Granted that Christian truth is unattainable by human reason, yet revelation itself poses problems for the scholar. If revelation be given in sacred books, their text must be determined and their content disseminated in manuscript and by the printed page. Here is the justification for the life work of Erasmus the editor. The Scriptures must be translated—work for Jerome and Luther. Critical problems of

text and content must be faced—a task for Valla. The truths implicit in Scripture must be extracted and formulated, and contradictions real or apparent must be resolved—a challenge to Abelard, Aquinas, and Calvin. Christian revelation and the truths attainable by reason and adumbrated in other religions must be brought into relation—the endeavor of Augustine, Aquinas, and Pico. Surely the Christian scholar need not be ashamed of his calling.

The type of the Christian scholar exhibits subtypes, also. There is the variety concerned primarily with the factual—texts, languages, grammar, and the like. There is the variety attracted primarily to ideas, the theologians proper. There are those who seek truth dispassionately through linguistic and literary tools and those who repristinate truth by reliving the experiences which occasioned its first formulation. Here we have the difference between Jerome and Augustine, between Erasmus and Luther.

The book ends with Calvin and therefore has no example of the Christian scholar in confrontation with modern science, but one cannot have everything within this small compass. The work is marked by penetrating and sensitive insights. It contains many points of distinctly contemporary relevance, including a brief discussion of the relation of theological to university education. The bibliographical references to recent books and articles are very helpful.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE CHURCH FROM ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT TO THE LONG PARLIAMENT. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 367. \$5.60.)

IF any defense of the learned monograph were required, surely it would be abundantly supplied by this excellent book. Mr. Hill has dealt in a masterly fashion with the whole range of financial problems confronting the church during a most critical half century and has shown that these increasingly grave difficulties were insoluble short of an unacceptable return to medievalism, on the one hand, and the revolutionary triumph of Puritanism, merging into Presbyterianism and sectarianism, on the other. This crisis in the affairs of the church was heightened quite as much by the fumbling efforts of the first two Stuarts to assist the hierarchy as by the cold secularism of Elizabeth. The hierarchy found itself without substantial support in 1640 in no small measure because Archbishop Laud, in a valiant but foredoomed effort to secure the restoration of medievalism, had offended every important segment of English opinion.

Hill has treated the development of this great crisis with care and with a wealth of documentation. Never, it may be safely suggested, have the tangled problems of tithes, impropriations, and augmentations been more skillfully and definitively discussed, particularly since the treatment is placed so relevantly in the whole consideration of the state of the church and its mounting problems.

The author has much to say, too, of the social and economic status of the parochial clergy of the realm, while emphasizing the widening gulf separating them from the great prelates and, perhaps as importantly, from the learned and intensely evangelical Puritan wing of the clergy which gained its support, political and economic, from a rich burgher class which was quite prepared to pay, and that handsomely, for the gospel, if preached in the pure accents of Geneva.

This work is marked by many virtues. The reader is impressed, above all, by the author's great fairness and charity. Hill moves easily, with good humor, and without evident bias through this complex and controversial period in which, it is not too much to say, the whole structure of the liberal society was in process of rapid evolution. It may perhaps be suggested that the ultimate test of any historian's good sense and objectivity is his treatment of Archbishop Laud. Even this the author manages with dispassion, fairness, and a sympathetic understanding that proceeds from a full appreciation of the immense risks which Laud was prepared to take in his effort to regain a world that was forever gone.

Hill has discharged his difficult and important task so well that critical comment may be very briefly stated indeed. The whole subject of the augmentation of clerical stipends is too briefly and perhaps too thinly covered, and further research in the manuscript materials would have disclosed an even more impressive effort on the part of Puritan donors to repair the injuries and the insufficiencies of the medieval and Tudor past. Nor, it may be suggested, is the vast subject of the neglect of the church fabric, which for a generation under Elizabeth was all but complete, more than cursorily noted, though it would seem to be quite central to the author's consideration. It may be argued, too, that Elizabethan policy toward the church was much less consciously economic than Hill suggests; there is every evidence that this great sovereign was moved by a secularism quite as cold as it was complete. But these are minor flaws indeed. Mr. Hill has written an admirable and an important book which throws great light on a period in which England was moving toward reluctant revolution.

Harvard University

W. K. JORDAN

COUNTRY BANKING IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By L. S. Pressnell. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 591. \$11.20.)

To take up a vast subject deserves respect; to report on it successfully merits high admiration. Like most students of modern social and economic history, Dr. Pressnell was confronted by mountains of documents, located in dozens of city and university libraries, county record offices, and private collections. Anyone familiar with this glut of material will appreciate how prodigious his labors have been. He has somehow managed to turn over much of what came before him, to digest it, and to put together a lucid analysis of an important part of England's financial machinery that has hitherto gone unexamined.

Pressnell examines country banking, from 1760 to 1844, under four heads: its

origins and growth, its place in the national banking system, its work of supplying notes and credit, and its responsibility for economic fluctuations. Under each of these heads, he describes much of interest: how the remittance activities of the various collectors of government revenue throw light on the origins of country banking, how bill-broking was related to early country banking, how country banks helped to finance the roads and canals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the part they played in financial crises, especially the crisis of 1825. Many of these things need statistical measurement, and Pressnell has valiantly grappled with the difficulties of such measurement, at the same time displaying a refreshing candor about the limitations of his material, limitations sometimes imposed by its very profusion. Here and there he has caught a glimpse of an avenue to new research, impossible or unnecessary for him to follow but which might profitably be explored by others.

That part of the book which deals with economic fluctuations is perhaps the most interesting. Although Pressnell modestly calls it "a superficial view," economic historians will likely be persuaded that country banks ought to be spared much of the discredit that has been heaped upon them. Of the crisis of 1825 Pressnell writes: "It may be possible to give the country bankers a somewhat cleaner book—provisionally at any rate—than their failures seem to suggest. This cannot be done for the government and the Bank of England" (p. 496). Incidentally, the story of 1825 is told with a verve that is not commonly associated with the writing of economic history.

Not that the book is uniformly well written. There are places where the author might better have denied himself the satisfaction of producing every example he has collected, and his habit of long parenthetical statement might also have been curbed. But these are slight faults in a work which may take a not undeserved place on the shelf alongside Sir John Clapham's *The Bank of England*.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH DISSENT: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF LIBERAL AND HUMANITARIAN REFORM MOVEMENTS FROM 1815 TO 1848. By *Raymond G. Cowherd*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 242. \$5.00.)

No nineteenth-century historian would deny the importance of the theme of this volume, unless he were prepared to challenge the magisterial authority of Halévy himself. Even the casual student can hardly fail to notice the number of times when political decisions were critically affected by the hosts who gathered in the bleak little Sions, Bethels, and Bethesdas, as well as in the more prosperous urban chapels. The "Nonconformist conscience" has long since achieved the status of a commonplace among historians of the Victorian Age. But, save for two or three studies of the social and political influence of the Wesleys, there has been no systematic examination of the role of the Dissenters in politics.

Professor Cowherd has attempted to make good the omission for the first half of the century. He has sought to isolate the religious factor in such characteristic movements as parliamentary reform, Chartism, education, free trade, factory regulation, and the abolition of slavery. There can be no complaint about the terrain covered by the author's researches. He has not only consulted the familiar official sources, reports of the various dissenting organizations, and a sheaf of biographies and memoirs, but he has also conscientiously examined a mass of denominational periodicals. Although it would be too much to say that strikingly new conclusions emerge from the study, Cowherd has documented, in certain respects, what have hitherto been little more than assumptions and inferences and has suggested certain new points of emphasis. He finds significance, for example, in the election of 1837 as marking the dissolution of the old but increasingly uneasy alliance of Whigs and Dissenters and the movement of the latter into the Radical orbit.

The complexities in such a subject are formidable, perhaps more so than the author's treatment suggests. To abstract from a tangled social and political movement the contribution of particular groups calls for a special kind of historical sense. What makes it uncommonly difficult in the present case is that, except with respect to slavery, the Dissenters rarely acted either unitedly or independently. The Wesleyans, for example, often stood aside, while Independents, Unitarians, and others found themselves allied with Whigs, Benthamites, or working-class radicals. Indeed, it is not altogether clear whether in the realm of political action one can properly speak of a "Dissenting community."

The book would have been more satisfying if Cowherd, while detailing the action of Dissenters on behalf of specific causes, had recognized some of these broader issues and had dealt with them at greater length. He has not, I think, adequately explored such fundamental questions as the roots—theological, social, psychological—of the reformism of the Dissenting groups. How, for example, did the approach to reform of the Dissenters differ from that of the Utilitarians or other middle-class reformers? In other words, how far was the *ethos* of the Dissenters distinctively their own and how far was it shared by the middle classes generally? These are troublesome, perhaps unanswerable, questions, but they are not irrelevant to an estimate of the Dissenters' achievements as reformers.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

PARIS ET ILE-DE-FRANCE: MÉMOIRES. Tomes V-VI (1953-1954), L'ORIGINE DES MAGISTRATS DU PARLEMENT DE PARIS AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE, by J. François Bluche. Tome VII (1955). (Paris: Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France. 1956. Pp. 412; 266.)

CARL Becker once upon a time remarked that perhaps the only calculable reward for studying the past was to be a little less surprised at the present and the

future. But Carl Becker's own addiction demonstrated the power of the fascinations attending The Historian's Progress: the winnowing out and pressing down, the mining and recasting, all the facets of this occupation compelling beyond any duty of predictable utility.

Centered in Paris and the Ile-de-France, thirty-nine historical and archaeological societies are presently cooperating in joint efforts to promote studies of their region's past and to publish "volumes of *Mémoires* relating to the history of Paris and of the areas round about Paris." The number of groups engaged in fortifying public knowledge about Paris and its environs brings one up with a start. A chronological concordance of these divers societies would in itself be an enlightening contribution toward an understanding of this key area. Since May, 1949, when the Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France was constituted, seven *Tomes* of *Mémoires*, in six volumes, have been published. (Upon the first, appearing in 1952, the Académie française bestowed its Prize Jean-Jacques Berger.) All but one of the volumes have been composed of from five to ten articles—some short accounts, others longer monographic studies.

Bluche's *L'Origine des Magistrats*, in contradistinction to the rule of presenting collections of short studies, stands unique in the series thus far. *L'Origine* is his *petite thèse*, the supporting documentary or axiomatic volume that in France customarily accompanies a major dissertation for the *doctorat d'état*; he explains that he has already set forth his conclusions in his principal thesis, *Les Magistrats du parlement de Paris au XVIII^e siècle*. The entire 412 pages of *L'Origine* are filled with genealogical information concerning members of the Parlement of Paris in the eighteenth century (1715–1771). The names are alphabetically arranged, and the quite short sketches deal with origins and accretions of the quality of nobility in the families represented. Although slanted toward sociological analyses, it could very well help the more strictly political interpreter pick up lost trails of research and avoid errors of judgment regarding personal and family status and relations. In his introduction, Bluche includes a brief critical appraisal of his sources.

The most recent volume in the series (*Tome VII*), carrying eight articles, begins with a consideration by Marius Barroux of sources for the perennial subject, the origins of the city of Paris, and ends with Bertrand Gille's exploratory note on business records of Paris department stores. In between, the studies treat mostly of public sites and buildings, with variety added by an account of the Jansenist *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* by Françoise Bontoux and the presentation by Richard Cobb of evidence relating to the revolutionary revolt of Ventôse, 1794.

This series stands as an excellent bulletin board, not to be missed by those interested or actively engaged in the writing of the history of France. It could serve to promote personal connections as well as exchange of materials.

Madison, Wisconsin

GEORGIA ROBISON BEALE

FORESTS AND FRENCH SEA POWER, 1660-1789. By *Paul Walden Bamford*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 240. \$5.00.)

R. G. ALBION, in his superb study, *Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862*, left one question open. If the task of supplying timber to build Britain's fighting ships faced such corruption, inefficiency, and wooden-headed thinking as Albion described, how did Britannia manage to rule the waves? There is more to the answer than Mahan's dictum, which Albion cites, about the superiority of good men in poor ships. The greater difficulties of the French in meeting the same needs must also be described; and this is what Bamford does in his new study, which forms the necessary pendant to Albion's work. *Forests and French Sea Power* is institutional history of a high order. It is intelligently conceived, based on wide and deep researches, especially in the archives of Rochefort, Toulon, and Paris, and presented with clarity, perception, and skill.

Transport routes between the French woodlands and the shipyards on the coast away from the river mouths were open to attack. Importation of masts from distant lands proved vastly more difficult for France than for England. Thus the English were able to cut off the French from timber supplies in wartime, when they were most needed. But questions of high policy were also involved. Colbert, Bamford tells us, could lay down an exemplary forest law; he could even keep the slow rot of venal office out of the French naval administration and thus assure an unusually high level of efficiency in its work. But he could not make the sea France's vocation. The navy, as Bamford emphasizes, usually came off second best to the army in the allotment of French resources; as a result, it usually came off second best to the British fleet, as well.

Bamford finds fault with the landward direction of French policy. It might be objected that if France had been satisfied to remain a land power and had avoided war with the United Provinces, Dutch ships would have continued to serve French interests in the contest with England; but the weight of historical opinion on this question is strongly on Bamford's side. In any event, this is no more than an issue arising from the implications of Bamford's study. Further debate must take his excellent monograph on the basis of French sea power into account.

State University of Iowa

HERBERT H. ROWEN

THE PARIS COMMUNE IN FRENCH POLITICS, 1871-1880: THE HISTORY OF THE AMNESTY OF 1880. Volume I, THE PARTIAL AMNESTY. Volume II, THE FINAL AMNESTY. By *Jean T. Joughin*. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIII, Numbers 1 and 2.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1955. Pp. 226; 300, ix. \$7.50 the set.)

THIS is a unique contribution to the study of the evolution of political usages

during the first decade of the Third Republic, for it relates such developments to a practical political issue, namely, the changing character of the demands for an amnesty for the Communards. Volume I deals with the period from the Commune to the enactment of the partial amnesty of 1879 (the Andrieux Law), and Dr. Joughin traces the change in majority sentiment "from a categorical rejection of any kind of amnesty to the acceptance of a carefully delimited measure." By 1879 the Republican leadership had come to "recognize that some kind of amnesty law was necessary," not only for humanitarian purposes but also as a practical political measure to obtain workingman support. Perhaps even more significant was the confidence implied by the granting of an amnesty; the Republic was secure enough to afford such generosity and was no longer associated in men's minds with violence, instability, and social peril—difficulties which had long hindered the acceptance of the Republic by many moderates. As an attempt to reconcile the workingman with other elements of French society, the Andrieux Law did not go far enough. The demand for a full amnesty had, by 1879, been taken up by the resurgent social movement in France as a means "for winning political support for the party of social revolution."

In Volume II, Dr. Joughin shows how (but not *why*) the resurgence of socialism, the glorification of the Commune, and the demand for a total amnesty combined to create political pressure which forced the majority Republicans to about-face and to adopt, in July, 1880, an almost complete amnesty. Although early in the book, she states that the Republicans' delay in enacting a full amnesty "deprived the amnesty of any meaning as an act of social reconciliation," her later interpretations of its significance (pp. 481-86, 502) indicate that it "served Gambetta well" and that the socialist parties immediately lost what ground they had gained by espousing the full amnesty. Perhaps, therefore, the majority Republicans were not "too little and too late" in granting the final amnesty.

Indeed, perhaps the amnesty controversy did less than the author suggests in building up the workers' party in France, preventing the formation of a unified Republican party, and transforming the historical facts of the Commune into socialist mythology. Dr. Joughin has written a "biography" of the amnesty of 1880, with the "hero" playing a more prominent role in great events than a broader view might indicate. The author is not unaware of this, and she herself suggests that "the interaction of social forces" rather than the amnesty question accounts for the strides made in organizing an effective workers' political party at Marseilles in 1879 (p. 287) and also that "the first real introduction of Marxist ideas in France" coincided with the closing years of the amnesty controversy to produce the socialist myth of the Commune (p. 499).

But this is not to detract from the major importance of Dr. Joughin's work. She has used a wealth of documentation drawn from newspapers, party brochures, and, especially, parliamentary debates. Her concentration on the last is such as to make one believe that the amnesty question had little life outside the Chambers or public meeting-halls. Yet, for this subject, this type of treatment is valuable, for,

as Dr. Joughin asserts: "During the years when the ultimate fate of the Communards was a matter for political transactioning, certain major lines of development of the Third Republic became clearly drawn. . . . More than anything else, the story of the amnesty of 1880 demonstrates the drift toward parliamentary government [i.e., the abandonment of the doctrine of the separation of powers] which marked those early years. . . . In sum, the legislative prerogative of amnesty had been taken over by an executive power which itself had been subordinated to the parliamentary majority."

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

DIE AUFLÖSUNG DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK: EINE STUDIE ZUM PROBLEM DES MACHTVERFALLS IN DER DEMOKRATIE. By *Karl Dietrich Bracher*. [Schriften des Instituts für politische Wissenschaft, Band 4.] (Stuttgart and Düsseldorf: Ring Verlag. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 754. DM 27.80.)

THE experiences and fate of the Weimar Republic have exercised a far-reaching influence upon German political life since 1945. Dr. Bracher was swayed by this fact when he fixed the area of his research. He was also swayed by the belief that the story of the dissolution of the Weimar Republic offers unique opportunities for a study of the vicissitudes to which political power is subject. Thus motivated, he set out to analyze the ensemble of factors which helped in one way or another to undermine the republic and to ready it for the catastrophe which ultimately befell it. He wished, against the backdrop furnished by such an analysis, to trace the actual sequence of events which culminated in the advent of Hitler. The result of his endeavors is a solid, searching, and well-documented work that should prove extremely useful to all students of recent German history.

The initial portion of the book—considerably more than a third—serves its avowed purpose admirably. It consists of several analytical essays, the common denominator of which is a dynamic and broadly conceived approach to the interrelated subjects they treat. They contain many perceptive observations and point up some of the general implications of the problems that the author has chosen to pose. Among the topics covered are the weaknesses of the democratic party system, the advance of the totalitarian parties, the multiplication of militant movements and leagues that stood outside the party system, the outlook and behavior of the bureaucracy, the impact of certain economic realities upon the political life of the country, and the role of the Reichswehr. The last is the work of the author's assistant, Wolfgang Sauer. It is highlighted, one might add, by a penetrating appraisal of the activities of General von Seeckt.

The second part of the volume contains a detailed chronological account of what happened in the German political arena during the last years of the Weimar Republic. The somber march of events and the accompanying intrigues and crises are painstakingly reconstructed on the basis of copious evidence. Particularly note-

worthy is the care with which the author portrays the problems, policies, and tactics of the various political parties. Arresting, too, is the acuteness with which he delineates the motives and maneuvers of some of the key figures. He has obviously mastered his material; he has also fashioned an absorbing and trenchant narrative.

According to Bracher, a discussion of the terminal phase of the Weimar Republic must begin with the formation of the Bruening government in March, 1930. However, he rejects as a distortion of the facts the thesis that Bruening's tenure of office was merely an authoritarian prelude to the coming of the Nazi dictatorship. To be sure, presidential government became a reality during this excruciatingly difficult period; but Bruening, the author avers, clung steadfastly to the idea of a parliamentary solution. It was only after he had been ousted that control of the power of the state fell entirely into the hands of a small coterie around Hindenburg. This monopoly cleared the way for the chain of developments that ultimately resulted in the accession of Hitler to the chancellorship of the Reich.

University of Chicago

S. WILLIAM HALPERIN

THE RISE AND FALL OF NAZI GERMANY. By *T. L. Jarman*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 388. \$4.95.)

DIRECTED to an English audience, well-organized, neatly trimmed, and cleanly written, this work will serve the general reader rather than the scholar. On this level, it has real merit. In twenty-seven brief chapters grouped in six parts, the author presents the historical background of Nazism; the origins, organization, and arrival of the party in power; Hitler's foreign policy; the war and the final collapse; and the residue of Nazi ideas and attitudes, as manifested in Germany today. Statements of fact are generally accurate, sources and authorities are carefully cited, and interpretations, if somewhat conventional and oversimplified, are well sustained. Jarman has done a competent job of surveying and summarizing the main aspects of the subject; for the student and nonspecialist seeking a compact and comprehensive survey, the work can be recommended.

The specialist, however, will find little that is new, original, or suggestive, and he will probably entertain a number of reservations as he checks through the chapters. Part I, for example, is composed of chapters entitled "The German Enigma," "The Influence of History," and "The Beginnings of Megalomania." They represent another attempt to explain the "German mind" or the "German soul" in terms of the ideas of Hegel, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Wagner, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Bernhardt. The result is a conventional and derivative explanation of Nazism which does not really explain. Other developments and aspects of the Nazi period are treated so sketchily as to be unsatisfactory. This was the reviewer's reaction to the chapters on "Versailles and Weimar," "The Begin-

nings of the Party," and "The Personality and Ideas of Hitler" (the latter is based almost entirely upon selections from *Mein Kampf*). Footnotes and bibliography indicate a wide acquaintance with the published documents, memoirs, and literature of the Nazi period. However, the materials cited are not exploited in depth but are drawn upon mainly for illustrative purposes and apt quotation. The memoirs are used uncritically.

Jarman recognizes four main factors that made possible the Nazi regime and the catastrophe of World War II: the historic development of the German people and their acceptance of nationalistic leadership, the personality of Adolf Hitler, the economic depression of the 1930's, and the failure of the Western powers to call Hitler's bluff before it was too late. This is the familiar explanation of the circumstances and the man. The circumstances cannot be denied, but it has always seemed to this reviewer, both as observer and student, that what really explains Hitlerism in Germany is Hitler and that Alan Bullock's excellent biography of the Austrian political adventurer remains the most satisfactory explanation of "the rise and fall of Nazi Germany."

University of Virginia

ORON JAMES HALE

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945). Volume VI, THE LAST MONTHS OF PEACE, MARCH-AUGUST, 1939. Volume IX, THE WAR YEARS, MARCH 18-JUNE 22, 1940. (Washington, D. C.: Department of State; London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1956. Pp. xciii, 1149; lxxii, 729. \$4.25; \$3.25.)

VOLUME VI opens in mid-March, 1939, as Bohemia and Moravia were being occupied. Its first document is Ambassador Schulenburg's report of Stalin's address of March 10 ("irony and criticism . . . directed in considerably sharper degree against Britain . . . than against the so-called aggressor states . . ."), and its next-to-last document tells of Hitler, on August 8, assuring the Hungarian foreign minister that he did not fear "a reckoning with France and Britain. There would never be a more favourable moment than the present." The abundant *British Documents* published in 1951-1953 overlap this period; the corresponding publication of *Documenti Diplomatici Italiani*, however, begins only with May 23, 1939, and the "Pact of Steel."

The German documents on Britain and—much less numerous—on France are not rich in disclosures. There is confirmation, if that is needed, of the fundamental change in attitude in the West produced when the Germans seized "Czechia" and junked the familiar *Ein Volk—Ein Reich* thesis. France appears in the role of second fiddler to a hesitant Britain, where, according to Dirksen's information (July 24), the Government could as well wage an autumn electoral campaign on a platform of Anglo-German agreement as on one of preparedness for the coming war. There are reports on the Hudson-Wohlthat talks and a

Stimmungsbericht on Britain in early June by Adam von Trott zu Solz, later one of the victims of July 20, 1944. Unfortunately, the guidelines from Berlin do not appear clearly in relation to Britain or, generally, to other countries. There are hardly any really full statements of Ribbentrop's, or Hitler's, bases of policy; the memoranda and instructions published usually were composed by State Secretary Weizsäcker or lesser officials, not by the foreign minister.

For Italy, the familiar picture is filled in a little, with Ribbentrop and Ciano agreeing on an immediate alliance at Milan on May 6-7, though Ciano made clear Italy's unreadiness for war for the next three years. Occupying much space are such problems as coal deliveries and the treatment of the German minority in South Tyrol—the *Volksdeutsche* there as elsewhere in Central Europe remaining as a usable relic, in German arguments, of earlier Nazi "principles." Relations with Poland and Rumania naturally are prominent in this period when the intermittent German pressure on Poland was rising sharply and when both the smaller powers—as evidenced in their attitudes toward a guarantee directed against Germany and in Rumanian Foreign Minister Gafencu's tour in April and May—were desperately endeavoring to hold off Germany without concessions to Russia.

The most interesting documents are those dealing with German-Soviet negotiations. Over eighty documents concerning Russia are printed, compared with some thirty (for the shorter period from April 17 to August 7) in the State Department's *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*. Mutual suspicion and the effort to squeeze out all possible advantages before a commitment dominate the scene on both sides. Late in May—as Gerhard Weinberg indicates in *Germany and the Soviet Union, 1939-1941*—after much uncertainty in interpreting Molotov's comment to Schulenburg on May 20 on the need of preceding economic negotiations by a "political basis," came a German decision to move for both a political and an economic settlement. The long and frank set of instructions drafted by Ribbentrop at that time for Schulenburg, though not sent, showed this readiness; but German overtures were initially cautious, and another "period of waiting" developed in the first three weeks of July. Then suddenly, following a Soviet move to resume economic discussions, and as signs of Anglo-French activity in Moscow increased, a note of urgency appeared. The Germans—forgetting even their concern with the effects on Japan—followed up in earnest the ample evidence that the Russians were willing; Weizsäcker telegraphed to Schulenburg on July 22 instructing him "to pick up the threads again" of political discussions. The documents published here contribute substantially to the story of the progress of the negotiations at Berlin and Moscow.

Volume IX opens with the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner on March 18, 1940. Naturally, the Norwegian campaign and Norwegian internal difficulties following it, the offensive in the West, and the negotiations for the armistice with France in June occupy much of the volume, accompanied by the sordid tale of Mussolini's intervention. Japan's suspicions of German-Russian

rapprochement in 1939 echoed in Japanese concern about the Netherlands East Indies in May, 1940; the Germans countered in June with a distinctly cool response to requests for support in Indochina and to a hint from the Japanese Ambassador on June 19 regarding German mediation with China. The uneasy Russo-German partnership was frequently strained; this volume includes numerous documents, not published in *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, pertaining especially to the long-drawn-out attempts to normalize Soviet-Italian relations and to economic problems, disputes about deliveries of raw materials, and the like.

Documents concerning relations with the United States receive considerable space in both volumes, particularly reports from the chargé at Washington, Hans Thomsen. These describe governmental and popular attitudes here, and one of them, in April, 1940, guardedly criticizes the Military Attaché Bötticher for overestimating the influence of high military circles on American foreign policy. Several documents concern German attempts in June to make use of isolationist politicians and to subsidize "literary counter-measures against pro-Allied propaganda activities."

Both volumes arrange the documents chronologically, with analytical subject lists at the beginning. Would not at least a subdivision by chapters like that in the *British Documents* be preferable?

Harvard University

REGINALD H. PHELPS

MAZZINI AND THE SECRET SOCIETIES: THE MAKING OF A MYTH.

By E. E. Y. Hales. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1956. Pp. xi, 13-226. \$4.95.)

AN interesting addition to the ever growing literature on Giuseppe Mazzini is Mr. Hales's brief, lucidly written study of the Italian patriot's life until 1837, when his English exile began. Hales chose to concentrate on this early period because he felt "it was the creative, and in that sense the decisive part. . . . It was also the period of his life when he evolved the faith from which he never departed" (p. 15).

There never was any doubt in the mind of Mazzini's mother that her son was destined for great things. She supervised every step of his education and instilled in him that sense of duty and devotion to his chosen mission which characterized him throughout life. Mazzini's dedication to the cause of Italian independence started at an early age. In 1821, when only sixteen, he joined the student rioting at the University of Genoa in support of the Carbonari. Then followed membership and conspiratorial activity in the Carbonari, until treachery from within led to his arrest, imprisonment, and finally exile in 1831. The years 1831 to 1837 saw the evolution of Mazzini as the leader of revolt. From France and Switzerland he wove the threads of what time and again he futilely hoped would be a national uprising to drive out the many rulers of Italy and unite the peninsula into a

republic. The ramifications of Young Italy and the many plots culminating in the ill-fated, abortive attempt to invade Savoy in January, 1834, made Mazzini a marked man in police dossiers throughout Europe. In describing this period of Mazzini's life, Hales has not limited himself to Mazzini's political activities but has tried to give some insight into Mazzini's personal relations with such close friends as the Ruffini family, Luigi A. Melegari, and Giuditta Sidoli.

Documented gracefully with selections from Mazzini's letters, the book shows the author's acquaintance with the best and latest in Mazzini scholarship, to which, however, he makes no new contribution, except perhaps an attempt to fix the dates of the birth and death of the son borne to Mazzini by Giuditta Sidoli. But Hales captures for his reader the essence of the young Mazzini who thought that dedication and faith could move the mountains of established authority and public inertia and create the Italian state. Alone, Mazzini's idealism did not succeed. Without it, the Risorgimento would have been a prosaic affair. As an introduction to the "myth" of Mazzini, Hales's book, which concludes with a chapter on what the author calls "Mazzini's Theology," is excellent.

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

CHIESA E STATO IN ITALIA DAL RISORGIMENTO AD OGGI. By *Arturo Carlo Jemolo*. [Piccola Biblioteca Scientifico-letteraria, Numero 69.] (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore. 1955. Pp. 495. L. 800.)

THIS book by the eminent and respected lay Catholic historian, jurist, and professor of ecclesiastical law at the University of Rome, Arturo Carlo Jemolo, is at the same time an unofficial revision and an uncompromising synthesis of his almost classic *Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni*, first published in 1948. Space permitting, it would be interesting to compare the two texts. Be it sufficient to mention that format, style, and in some cases even the emphasis in Jemolo's "second" *Chiesa e Stato* are obviously designed to attract a larger reading public. What is more evident is Jemolo's consistently courageous and inspiring effort to maintain and reiterate his position on the necessity of reconciling the spiritual mission of the church and the historic function of liberal democracy in contemporary Italy. In this attempt to clarify the basis for a reconciliation may be said to lie the inner thread of the historical analysis of church and state (and Italian society and culture) relations from the Risorgimento, particularly from the eve of 1848, through the first decade of the Italian Republic to 1955.

The volume, which is essentially historical in the method of presentation of details—strewn throughout with the abundant and masterly generosity which only long immersion and deep understanding can give—is characterized by certain unmistakable, larger programmatic ideals. This is particularly obvious in Jemolo's treatment of the recent period. The entire fascist era is seen as an involution, even in the relations between church and state and apparently in spite of the officializa-

tion of "peace" in the Lateran Accords of 1929. For Jemolo, fascism in all its forms, like communism, is "the antithesis of the Christian doctrine." His liberal sympathies at that point in his narrative, as again when he details the historic debate in the Italian Constituent Assembly of 1946 on the inclusion of the Lateran Accords in the new Constitution, are clearly predominant over his Catholic position. His vast juridical knowledge and acute historical sense suggest a critical approach which the politicians of neither political situation found expedient. The last chapter of this volume—itsself a precious document on contemporary Italy—is at once a summation and a critique of both the unrealized fruits of the quasi-permanent victory of Christian Democracy in Italy through the last decade and the not-yet-fully implemented promise contained in the new Italian Constitution.

Professor Jemolo is no Cassandra of contemporary Italy but neither is he its Pangloss. The Christian faith and Catholic doctrine in him are live and intense. But they are also inextricably fused with his unswerving loyalty to the finer values of the European tradition since the Renaissance and in a special way to the message of freedom he reads in the history of the Risorgimento. One vote is hereby cast to postpone for a time the translation of the next Italian novel and to suggest that instead Jemolo's *Chiesa e Stato* be made available in English.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

THE EMERGENCE OF RUSSIAN PANSLAVISM, 1856-1870. By *Michael Boro Petrovich*. [Studies of the Russian Institute of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 312. \$5.00.)

THIS study by Mr. Petrovich on the early development of Russian Panslavism testifies to the rapid growth in the United States of distinguished writing on Slavic history. The book is the first detailed survey, at least in Western languages, of Russian Panslav ideology and its political program, as it developed from the Slavophil background of the 1830's and 1840's. It is based upon a careful study of all available sources, and the judgments of the author are sound and discerning. The book will be helpful to any student of Russian history in the decisive period of the middle nineteenth century.

Petrovich has rightly treated his subject from the point of view of the historian of ideas rather than from that of the diplomatic historian. Russian Panslavism, which did not assert itself as a movement of any importance until the Crimean War, played a major role in Russian foreign policy for a brief time in the 1870's, thanks to the fact that Count Nikolai Ignatyev, a fervent Panslavist, was Russian ambassador to Turkey from 1864 to 1877. Even this moment of political Panslavism was fleeting, and the period is outside the scope of this book, which in essence deals only with the emergence of Russian Panslavism and ends its narrative around 1870. This was the year when General Rostislav Fadeyev published his *Opinion on the Eastern Question*, which in the following year appeared in an

English translation. There he wrote: "When the idea of Panslavism becomes a state idea, it will dazzle all like lightning." It did not dazzle like lightning; in fact, it failed and faded after 1880, until revived by Stalin during the "Great Patriotic War."

It is true, as the foremost Western historian of the political Panslavism of the 1870's, the late B. H. Sumner, observed, that what had begun as a religious and intellectual movement of a small group of educated noblemen in Moscow ended by being transformed into crude appeals to nationalist mass emotion. Russian Panslavism offered a mystique to restless and aggressive Russian nationalism in the 1870's and again in the 1940's. But up to 1870, Panslavism was no more than an idea, first rejected outright by the Russian government and later on only reluctantly supported. The Panslavs of the 1860's were above all interested in establishing cultural relations with the non-Russian Slavs, but they hardly succeeded even in this limited goal, because their strong Russian nationalism conflicted with the nationalism of the other Slavs and because the Russian language was largely unknown to Western Slav intellectuals.

Russian Panslav ideology started from the Slavophil premise that Europe was divided into two incompatible civilizations, the Romano-Germanic and the Byzantine-Slavic, different not only in degree but in substance. The Panslavs added the conviction that this incompatibility of civilization led necessarily to ineradicable hostility. Slavophiles and Panslavs were firmly convinced of Russian superiority and both simply transferred, without due acknowledgment, concepts of German anti-Western romantic historiography, or rather *Weltanschauung*, to the Russians. All this is clearly brought out in Petrovich's excellent study. Its discussion of Russian linguistic Panslavism and of the Russian attitude toward the Polish question in 1863 does not lack an element of lively interest for the student of the present-day situation in Central Eastern Europe.

City College of New York

HANS KOHN

THE RUSSIAN STRUGGLE FOR POWER, 1914-1917: A STUDY OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By C. Jay Smith, Jr. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1956. Pp. xv, 553. \$4.75.)

ALTHOUGH some forty years have passed since the First World War, a comprehensive study of its diplomatic history still awaits the opening of the archives of the principal belligerents. Fortunately, however, the desire to expose the iniquities of the old regime prompted the Bolsheviks to publish in several collections a large number of documents from the Imperial Foreign Office. Drawing heavily on these surprisingly-little-used materials and on other relevant sources, Professor Smith has written the first connected and detailed account of tsarist diplomacy during the war. It is an important addition to the literature on the war and is especially

significant as a contribution to the neglected history of Russian foreign policy before 1917.

The major objects of Russian interest or ambition during this period were the Straits and Constantinople, the Balkans, Poland, and the eastern, particularly the Slavic, areas of the Habsburg empire. The sections dealing with Poland reveal a fascinating chapter in the long and tortured history of the relations between these two nations. The Balkan story is a sordid record of unscrupulous diplomatic bargaining. The crumbling Austro-Hungarian Empire presented the tsar and his ministers with the problem of encouraging nationalistic ambitions in the enemy camp without infecting their own non-Russian subjects. But acquisition of the Straits and Constantinople was by far the most ubiquitous and persistent aim of tsarist diplomacy. Soon after Sazonov gained from the Allies the promise of their cession, the long and tragic decline of Russian military power began. Until the resignation of Miliukov as minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional Government in May, 1917, and the subsequent renunciation by Russia of annexations, Sazonov and his successors lived in daily dread that Russia's fading military strength would persuade the Allies to overtly or covertly repudiate their earlier promise.

Smith's narrative can be considered a definitive treatment of Russian wartime diplomacy, pending the availability of new material. But it is unfortunate that he did not broaden his account to include more discussion of economic factors and of the attitudes of Russian society on foreign policy. The consequence of this rather narrow scope is to give an overly mechanistic and perhaps excessively unsavory impression of the totality of Russian actions and aspirations. Also, a more extensive and discriminating exposition in the preface of the author's comparison of Russian policy in the two world wars would have added weight to his thesis and obviated the criticisms which it will undoubtedly evoke. His contention that there is "more than a passing resemblance between the Tsarist policies of 1914-17 and those of Stalin between 1941 and 1948" (p. xi) is certainly justified, but his minimization of the complex role of Communism in Soviet diplomacy is open to serious challenge. The statement "To be sure, the world revolution was never completely forgotten, any more than America has forgotten the dream of a world in which all peoples everywhere will recognize that the 'American way' is the right way" (pp. x-xi) is at best misleading. The absence of any maps to help the reader find his way through the extremely complicated territorial arrangements agreed upon during the war is regrettable.

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

Far Eastern History

MOSCOW AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA: A STUDY IN THE POSTWAR EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST STRATEGY. By *John H. Kautsky*. [Technology Press Books in the Social Sciences.] (Cambridge: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1956. Pp. xii, 220. \$6.00.)

AN attempt is made here to trace the evolution of the Indian Communist party's strategy and its relation with Moscow and Peking. Three broad classifications are established: the "right" strategy of the popular front; the "left" strategy against capitalism, imperialism, and feudalism; and the "neo-Maoist" strategy, now Moscow's choice for all colonial and semicolonial countries, designed to unite workers, peasants, and capitalists alike against "imperialism and feudalism."

The book's main part describes the somewhat erratic course of the shifts in these strategies since World War II, from left to right to neo-Maoist, with Moscow emerging as their originator. Long time lags between Moscow's initiative and the completion of the shifts are explained by lack of guidance resulting from Moscow's indifference to India in the early postwar years, uncertainty in Moscow regarding the neo-Maoist strategy, and the initiation of shifts by vague announcements rather than direct commands. A further reason, little discussed by the author, was the obstinacy of Indian leaders in maintaining their convictions, which resulted in more radical leadership changes and deeper rifts within the party than was normal in other countries.

The author concludes that Moscow accepted neo-Maoism as particularly suitable for Russia in the "Cold War"; that this acceptance leaves Moscow, not Peking, in command of the Indian Party; that Moscow's guidance is mostly in the form of publicly available directives (editorials, articles, etc.) and is essentially "negative" in that it criticizes strategies as wrong until the "correct" one is adopted. These conclusions are well substantiated, but the evidence is limited and they must be accepted as tentative. For reasons of scholarship, the author denies himself any but publicly available documentary sources and foregoes, for instance, any evaluation of meetings between high-ranking Indian and other Communist leaders. Furthermore, because the author is interested not in the Indian party *per se* but "in the process by which a Communist party line is formulated and finally adopted" (p. 1), he ignores almost entirely the influence of the Indian environment upon this process. Though strategy is imposed by Moscow, its formulation and adoption is, nevertheless, greatly affected by local circumstances, and the struggle accompanying each shift cannot be fully understood without reference to them. The Indian leaders are not quite the abstract theoreticians the book makes them appear to be; in adopting the party line for India, they have been aware of prevailing local conditions and have taken them into account.

University of Minnesota

WERNER LEVI

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CHINA, 1840-1928. By *Li Chien-nung*.

Translated and edited by *Ssu-yu Teng* and *Jeremy Ingalls*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1956. Pp. xii, 545. \$7.50; text edition available.)

Li Chien-nung's work on Chinese political history, like Ch'en Kung-lu's *History of Modern China* (not yet available in translation), has long been regarded as a standard text by Chinese students and teachers. It was first published in 1930 under the title *Political History of China in the Past Thirty Years* and dealt with the period 1898-1928. Li later added three introductory chapters treating the period from 1839 forward, and it is the fuller 1948 edition which Ssu-yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls have competently edited and translated. They have done a fine job of overcoming difficulties involved in rendering the original Chinese into English by editing out much repetition and adding systematic notations where necessary.

As in the case of the Chinese edition, the main contribution of the English version lies in the part which Li first wrote. The first three chapters (only 143 of 505 pages of text) treat in summary fashion the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, and the readjustment that followed and add little which is not readily available elsewhere. The remainder charts in detail the political struggles of the reform movement, the competition between reformers and revolutionaries, the overthrow of the Manchus, the growth of military cliques, the stormy career of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the period of warlord localism, and, finally, reunification under a reorganized Kuomintang. Li chronicles the fate of the successive cliques and groupings which constituted the government of China in name only. He portrays vividly three unhappy decades of the division of China among selfish leaders who had neither sufficient political or military power to unify the country nor any well-formulated program for their nation. Much of the subsequent tragedy of China has roots in the complex developments during these years, and this translation of Li's work constitutes the only detailed treatment available in one volume for Western readers.

There are, however, serious limitations. This is Chinese-style history, anecdotal and descriptive rather than analytical. Li shows little awareness of forces greater than the individuals he treats. He does not make the inductive generalizations necessary to bring out the institutional and social significance of his material. The Peiyang military clique figures prominently in the text, for example, but the reader will search in vain for an explanation of just what it was or how it operated. Again, there is practically nothing on government finance, education, and the conduct of foreign relations, all of which added continuity and some semblance of stability to the otherwise chaotic nature of Chinese politics at the national level. The division of China and the many forces involved in the struggle for power have necessitated such an abundance of Chinese names of persons and places that the work will be tough going for anyone without background knowledge of China. Despite such limitations, Li's work possesses great value not only as a basic reference work for the period but as an introduction to how the Chinese view this

critical age in their history. This value is enhanced by a detailed index and a selected bibliography.

Yale University

RICHARD L. WALKER

CHINA: NEW AGE AND NEW OUTLOOK. By *Ping-chia Kuo*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 231, viii. \$3.75.)

A historian, a graduate of Harvard University, and a former high official of the Nationalist government, Dr. Kuo is no longer active in national life and now resides in California, a haven unavailable to earlier members of the Chinese gentry when involved in the change from one dynasty to another. Kuo disassociates himself from the old dynasty. He is not uncritical of the new but takes it for granted that it will grow in strength and international importance. The pre-Communist past is presented largely as the story of the successes or failures of the ruling class to control masses of the people. Dr. Kuo accepts the Marxist view that this ruling class was a landlord class (p. 57). The Chinese Communists are a new phenomenon because they work from the bottom up. "It is to their credit that they never swerved in the belief that by sticking to mass organization, they would eventually overcome all opposing forces." The Communist leaders, according to Kuo, rose from the ranks of the common man; they are "plebeian stalwarts" who champion the cause of the peasants only to construct, a few pages later in the book, a pseudo-plebian regime which is actually imposed on the masses (pp. 84-87).

An apparent frankness in describing the Communist rise to power (for example, the admittance that the Communists had no intention of making peace with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1946 conferences) seems to give more plausibility to the thesis that Chiang failed because he could not organize mass support and that the Communists were the only ones with the ability to "lead the revolution." The "revolution" is a vague process of change, which all previous Chinese history has prepared for, and which is rather important for the argument because it is supposed to give substance to the view that the great changes going on in China today are "an integral phase in the evolution of her people." The author believes that, in spite of the international aspects of Communism, "China will remain China," whatever that means. The Chinese Communists have built up a new and different China whose strength must be accepted but whose expansionist tendencies must be limited. We must hope, the argument runs, for Peking to develop an independent policy and still remain on good terms with Moscow; then there will be a normal power relationship. All this assumes the success of the five-year plans, the political stability of the Peking government, and the "realistic" acceptance by America of Chinese leadership in Asia. This book is of no particular value to the scholar as it is full of value judgments, undocumented assertions, and wild speculations as to motive.

University of Washington

GEORGE E. TAYLOR

United States History

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1954. Edited by *Peter V. Curl*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1955. Pp. xxii, 506. \$5.00.)

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1954. By *Richard P. Stebbins* and the Research Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1956. Pp. xii, 498. \$6.00.)

THESE companion volumes for 1954, like their predecessors, will be indispensable to students of recent American foreign policy. The seven chapters in the *Documents*, which have their approximate counterparts in the *World Affairs* volume, are entitled: "The United States: Principles and Policies"; "The Western Community"; "East-West Problems in Europe"; "The Far East and Southeast Asia"; "The Near and Middle East and Africa"; "The Western Hemisphere"; "The United Nations, Disarmament and Peaceful Uses of the Atom." The *World Affairs* volume lagged a year behind the *Documents*, and although the treatment gained perspective from the extra time, the author regrets the delay and assures "readers who depend on these annual volumes for immediate reference" that "the current delays in their appearance are in the process of being overcome." The *World Affairs* volume is cross-referenced to the *Documents*, but not vice versa. A more liberal use of footnotes replaces the selected bibliography included in earlier *World Affairs* volumes; there are three maps and a "Chronology of World Events."

The year 1954 was an eventful one in most parts of the world. It witnessed the defeat of the European defense community and the substitution of Western European union; the Berlin and Geneva conferences; the French collapse in Indochina; the crisis over Quemoy; the overthrow of Communist rule in Guatemala; the British-Iranian agreement on oil; and the British-Egyptian agreement on Suez. In the light of later events, it is interesting to be reminded that Anthony Eden, then Foreign Minister, characterized the Suez agreement as preserving Britain's "essential requirements" in the Middle East and added that defense arrangements must be based on consent and cooperation of the peoples concerned. Interesting also is the statement of Secretary Dulles on the same occasion. "I believe," he said, "that the removal of this deterrent to closer cooperation will open a new approach to peaceful relations between the Near Eastern states and other nations of the free world." One of Colonel Nasser's ministers, on the other hand, hailed the Suez base agreement as freeing "essential forces . . . to liberate Palestine," and Colonel Nasser himself is reported to have called Israel "an artificial state which must disappear." Englishmen who in December, 1956, were aggrieved at the failure of the United States to support their attempt to solve the Suez prob-

lem by force may in these volumes be reminded of the British refusal of support when the United States was urging joint action to save Dien Bien Phu. Alarm caused by Mr. Dulles' repeated references to "massive retaliation" was partially alleviated by the Secretary's assurance that such retaliation need not be used "in every instance of attack" and by the President's declaration that "there is no alternative to peace." Despite setbacks and unsolved problems, Mr. Dulles could say at the end of the year: "The danger of general war recedes."

University of Buffalo

JULIUS W. PRATT

MR. JUSTICE. Edited by *Allison Dunham* and *Philip B. Kurland*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 241. \$3.75.)

If, as Professor John Chipman Gray and Justice Cardozo have asserted, the constitutional law with which the Supreme Court deals is basically politics, then historians should find the lives of the justices as fascinating and indispensable a source for study as the biographies of other political figures. Of course, a judicial career, like that of an author or other person engaged in sedentary professional labor, is apt to be marked by more routine performance of exacting tasks and by less involvement in exciting adventures than would be the case in other walks of life. To be sure, justices can engage in colorful activities unconnected with their work on the Court. Thus, in the case of Marshall and Holmes, their military service significantly affected their judicial views. Other justices have traveled, climbed mountains, conducted diplomatic negotiations with foreign countries, and participated in various types of extracurricular activities. But the biography of an "intellectual" such as a judge necessarily includes an appraisal of his professional achievements as well as a chronicle of his personal experiences. In the case of a Supreme Court Justice, it must include also some account of his legal philosophy.

The present volume meets these tests. It contains nine short but significant studies, by Francis Biddle, William W. Crosskey, Allison Dunham, Charles Fairman, Paul Freund, J. Francis Paschal, Merlo J. Pusey, John Paul Stevens, and Carl B. Swisher on Holmes, Marshall, Stone, Bradley, Brandeis, Sutherland, Hughes, Rutledge, and Taney, respectively. Many of the contributors are authors of full-length judicial biographies. In this symposium they have presented basic data regarding the justices discussed. All of the sketches are well written.

It should be noted that Crosskey's unorthodox notions of constitutional law affect his interpretation of Marshall. He regards the period of Marshall's chief justiceship as "a period of constitutional decay" (p. 22). He asserts that "the usual view of John Marshall's career is hardly tenable. John Marshall did not carry on a continual frontal assault, uniformly successful, upon the subversive principles of Jeffersonianism. Instead, he fought a long and stubborn rear-guard action to defend the Constitution against those principles. And it was, on the whole, a losing fight. Time after time during his long career, Marshall was

forced into compromise or defeat; and the result was a pretty complete transformation of the Constitution by the date of his death" (pp. 38-39). Various ideas characteristic of Crosskey's view of the Constitution are attributed to Marshall as "old Federalist doctrine."

The other authors do not depart from generally accepted opinions. Perhaps most informative to the reader, because dealing with a less well-known member of the Court, is Fairman's study of Justice Joseph P. Bradley.

Uniontown, Pennsylvania

EDWARD DUMBAULD

THE LIBERTIES OF AN AMERICAN: THE SUPREME COURT SPEAKS.

By *Leo Pfeffer*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 309. \$5.00.)

To attempt, in one slim volume, a survey of American liberties as they are set forth in the Bill of Rights and as they have been construed by the United States Supreme Court, is to attempt that which is hardly possible. This work deserves to be judged, however, not by its all-embracing title alone but by the author's declared intention, which is, as stated in his preface, "to shed some light on what the liberties of an American are and what they mean." This he certainly has succeeded in doing, and most of the criticisms of his attempt have to do with the inevitable oversimplification and resort to legal shorthand compelled by the scope of his work.

It is Pfeffer's conclusion that "the march of civil liberties in American history has been forward" and that the Bill of Rights has "played a crucial role" and has been "a beacon of light for seekers of liberty." He thinks the Supreme Court has "fulfilled its responsibilities as guardian of the Bill of Rights."

The crucial civil liberties problem of today, as the author sees it, lies in the extent to which constitutional principles and precedents are applicable to Communists and communist organization. The dilemma of the Supreme Court and the way it has divided on the issue are well described. Pfeffer gives a thumbnail review of the *Oliver* case (1948), in which the Supreme Court held firmly that "a secret trial is anathema to concepts of liberty and democracy, and does not accord the accused due process of law." The California Third District Court of Appeals last August had to reprove a lower court for holding a criminal trial in secret, and it is still not everywhere acknowledged that "secret trials have no place in a democracy."

Also very timely is the review of earlier civil rights contests and the consequences of the 1875 decision of the federal government to leave the defense of individual rights largely up to the states. To demonstrate very neatly and aptly how laws against one disliked faction may be imitated to outlaw advocates of other dissenting opinions, Pfeffer cites several state laws against the NAACP in which the techniques federally used with Communists are adopted intact for use against racial minorities.

This rapid survey of the long struggle for more perfect liberty sometimes inspires the distressing feeling that nothing is ever settled, for the same issues arise again and again; but Pfeffer's view is, on the whole, optimistic. There are some slips: the reference to the "repeal" of the Alien and Sedition Acts (which lapsed and ceased to exist without congressional action); the real importance of the Rumely case upholding Rumely's refusal to disclose his subscribers is not stated; the term "Roosevelt court" is loosely and improperly used. Apart from such criticism, the book does indeed "shed light" on American liberties and what they mean.

Washington, D. C.

J. R. WIGGINS

COLONISTS FROM SCOTLAND: EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, 1707-1783. By *Ian Charles Cargill Graham*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. x, 213. \$4.50.)

In this excellent little book that won the Beveridge award, Ian Graham, himself a Scot, educated on both sides of the Atlantic, introduces us to the story of Scottish emigration in the eighteenth century and to the role of the Scot in colonial America. Writing a cleancut, readable prose, he presents new information and fresh interpretations.

The causes of the Scottish exodus, the author maintains, and this reviewer agrees, were overwhelmingly economic. They stemmed basically from the age-old pressure of population on inadequate means of subsistence, but became active in particular years because of current ills. Estate papers and other MSS in the Scottish archives would have greatly strengthened his economic analysis, but customs records and little-exploited printed materials are used effectively. He rightly modifies the "exaggerated reports" of the numbers of Scots said to have come over (the figures of Irish emigration used for comparison also need to be modified). He agrees with and furthers the thesis that well-to-do Scots of the "tacksman" or intermediate landlord class, restive under changes that threatened their social and economic security, sought to persuade their tenants to follow them to America in the hope of setting up a new clan system with themselves as chiefs—another Old World dream destined to fade in the uncongenial air of pioneer America!

The American half of the story shows highlanders in closeknit settlements, chiefly in the Carolinas, New York, and Nova Scotia. Lowlanders were more dispersed. But in general all Scots tended, the author believes, "to act as an interest group on the basis of their nationality." It was largely this trait that brought them, in pre-Revolutionary years, to a position of commercial, political, and intellectual leadership out of all proportion to their numbers. One could wish for a fuller discussion of the intellectual and political leadership; the commercial activities are admirably dealt with. Incidentally, Graham furthers, if he does not end, the debatable question of the southern planter's "blindness to the practical side of business." It was the "Scotch-Irish," he maintains, who were the patriots in the

Revolution, while the Scots, with notable exceptions, were loyalists—a position demonstrable, as the author admits, only in the larger groups.

This book treats an important and much neglected segment of early American history critically and with imagination. It contains an excellent bibliography of printed materials. The author uses evidence in a telling way, although he sometimes does not give us enough of it. Indeed, he throws out far more interesting ideas than he attempts to develop—more than he could possibly develop in one slim volume. Clearly, Mr. Graham must write some more books; he has set a high standard for himself.

Vassar College

MILDRED CAMPBELL

MIDDLE-CLASS DEMOCRACY AND THE REVOLUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1691–1780. By *Robert E. Brown*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association. 1955. Pp. ix, 458. \$6.00.)

IN this challenging monograph Professor Brown argues two distinct theses. He sets out to prove that the society of colonial Massachusetts on the eve of the Revolution was quite democratic, and, having buttressed his case with an impressive mass of documentation, he then makes the sweeping assertions that the Revolution was not fought for democracy because in fact there already was democracy in the colonies and that the controversy with Britain was “the direct outgrowth of colonial democracy.” Strictly on the basis of evidence from Massachusetts, Brown suggests that the other colonies were not as undemocratic as tradition has painted them but that “the ‘common man’ in this country comes into his own long before the era of Jacksonian Democracy.”

Were it not for the author’s impatience to draw more sweeping and fundamental conclusions from his limited, if searching, study than the evidence warrants, this book would be less controversial and would probably win more friends and influence more people. Brown’s primary thesis is neither revolutionary nor startling. It has long been a commonplace of the New England colonial scene that the home of the town meeting nurtured a considerable measure of both economic and political democracy.

Perhaps the most significant sections of this book are those dealing with representation and the franchise. Brown shows that the interior towns were adequately represented, even overrepresented. Why they could not get legislation in the Confederation period which would have given them needed economic relief without resort to insurrection still needs to be answered. It would certainly be rash to assume that in other colonies the back country areas enjoyed a similar measure of representation. The South Carolina story, to cite just one obvious case, would be precisely the reverse of that of Massachusetts.

Brown argues persuasively that the requirement of possession of a 40s. freehold to exercise the province franchise did not bar more than a fourth of the adult

males and that typical farms of "average" farmers were worth "several times" this amount. In fact, he states, the yield from one acre planted in wheat would be sufficient to satisfy this requirement. (The town voting qualifications, though higher than those of the province, were also not very restrictive.) This argument would have been more convincing had Brown disclosed the basis for his sampling of the inventories of estates of both farm and town workers. The fact is that inventories of estates provide evidence of the holdings left by superannuated persons, those who had perhaps forty or more years to accumulate substantial estates. They are not typical of "average" persons as determined by actuarial tables. We should like to know more about the average property holdings of workers in the twenty-five to forty-five year old category. Their holdings are almost certainly a good deal lower than those listed in the inventories of deceased persons.

Brown shows that men *could* vote, and he also demonstrates that most men *did* vote. But he does not deal with the question of *why* they voted as they did. He does not take into account the leadership of the elite, which was one of the marked phenomena of New England town life. He contends that substantial middle-class property holders who had long been active in town affairs determined the anti-British drift on the eve of the Revolution, not the mob. His own evidence would seem to show that the town meetings were guided, if not controlled, by such a middle-class elite—by Colonel John Ashley of Sheffield, by Samuel Phillips in Andover, and by Joseph Hawley in Northampton.

One minor error should be noted which provides some evidence that the Massachusetts land law was not quite as egalitarian in practice as Brown believes. He states that there was no change in the laws governing property holding or inheritance in Massachusetts since the Bay State "did not employ the practices of entail and primogeniture." It is true that from earliest times Massachusetts had practiced partible descent, but at the same time a double portion was reserved for the eldest son. This was not changed until 1801, when Massachusetts finally came abreast of states which by then had more egalitarian laws of descent. Entails did exist in Massachusetts and where not doctored, descended according to the rules of primogeniture (*Baker v. Mattocks*, Quincy Rep. 69 [1763]).

Columbia University

RICHARD B. MORRIS

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC, 1763-89. By *Edmund S. Morgan*. [Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 176. \$3.00.)

A one-volume study of the American Revolutionary period, 1763-1789, has long been needed, especially to make readily available the results of research in the field in recent decades. *The Birth of the Republic* handsomely supplies that need. Professor Morgan's small volume, containing only 157 pages of text, does not, of course, cover every phase of the Revolution in detail; and it may be that the armed

struggle between Britain and her American colonies is too scantily treated. In general, however, the author concisely and clearly covers the major topics, and he offers a well-organized and attractively written survey. A short bibliographical note and an index are furnished.

Limits of space imposed a heavy burden upon the author, since he was compelled to condense much information into a small scope. The "boiling down" process almost inevitably produced some phrases that will not entirely please specialists, who, to be sure, are commonly captious. Thus, statements concerning the boundaries of Quebec according to the British Act of 1774 (pp. 61, 118) seem to be not quite satisfactory, since they contain no reference to its "saving clause." The passages considered doubtful by this fallible reviewer are very few, and he finds no serious error in fact.

The Birth of the Republic is particularly to be praised because of the sensible and judicious views offered by Morgan. He is unfair neither to Britain nor to the colonies, he refuses to make too much of political and social clash among the patriots, his remarks concerning the era of the Confederation are balanced, and his analysis of the making of the new union of 1789 is warped neither by a crass economic interpretation nor by filiopietistic sentiment. Students, both undergraduate and graduate, are often devoted defenders of unproven theories and one-sided theses concerning phases of the Revolutionary period; Professor Morgan's brief volume will serve as a very helpful corrective. It will also be stimulating and useful to older scholars.

Duke University

JOHN R. ALDEN

THE FAR WESTERN FRONTIER, 1830-1860. By Ray Allen Billington. [New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. xix, 324. \$5.00.)

THE chief distinction of this excellent addition to the New American Nation Series is the author's manner of treatment rather than his outline of subject matter. The arrangement of material follows conventional and generally accepted lines. Roughly the first quarter of the book is devoted to Spanish borderlands and fur men; the middle half develops the expansionist theme culminating with the Mexican War; and the remainder of the book is given over to the Mormons, the mineral frontier, and prerrailroad transportation. With this arrangement there can be little quarrel. Insofar as possible, events are presented in chronological order and the discussions move logically from one major theme to the next. Despite multitudinous events and interacting forces operating within an area of Gargantuan magnitude, Professor Billington has achieved clarity in presentation and unity for the work as a whole. The substance of the book's synthesis is well expressed by the final sentence: "Man had begun his battle against nature with only his hands and his brawn to aid him; man was to continue that battle with

such efficient tools that only thirty years later the continent had been conquered and all the Far West subjected to the elevating forces of civilization" (p. 292).

Presumably it was not the intent of the editors and publisher that this and companion works were to be based upon a meticulous reexamination of manuscript sources. In the preparation of the book, Billington has followed the pattern characterized by the other published volumes of the series. He has drawn heavily on printed narratives and official documents, periodical literature, and standard secondary works. Judging from footnote documentation, the appended critical bibliography, and internal evidence revealed by the text, it is apparent that the present author has made a comprehensive examination and utilization of the printed materials pertinent to his study. The most discernible omissions are the author's own previous publications.

Unanimity in the interpretation of Far Western frontier history has never been conspicuous, and it is doubtful that Billington's book will resolve all past differences. For example, the emphasis here placed upon the quest by Americans for more cheap land and the public and Democratic clamor for extension of political boundaries to the Pacific without due weight given Whig commercial interests in the acquisition of Pacific coast ports (the latter expounded by Norman A. Graebner in *Empire on the Pacific* [1955]) sets the stage for honest differences of opinion about interpretation of American expansionism. And now even the slogan "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" as an 1844 battle cry (p. 155) appears to belong in the limbo of American political myths. Also subject to dispute is such a matter as when and why Brigham Young decided that the Great Salt Lake valley was to be the "right place" for the Saints (p. 198). For the most part the book is a straightforward narrative in which persons, events, dates, and places are presented accurately and with agreeable spice.

It could fairly be said of this volume that its flavor, or style, provides a rather familiar theme with a new and refreshing aura. Heedless of the seminar admonition to thesis writers—"be sparing of adjectives"—Billington uses them freely, with obvious delight, and with a certain degree of abandonment. He has likewise provided his readers with a very generous sprinkling of colorful contemporary quips, epithets, and Western jargon. Very descriptive, for example, is a chapter, "The Era of the Mountain Men," in which life "in the raw" is described as being anything but genteel. Raw, cruel, precarious, and concerned with bare survival as life has been here represented, one is perhaps justified in asking the question: Was there not, as Louis B. Wright has indicated there was, culture on this moving frontier? Billington does not completely ignore the humane and the urbane aspects of frontier civilization, but more than he has presented would have been appropriate.

Students given this book as reference reading (presumably the purpose of the New American Nation Series) will find their assignments agreeable. They will like the format, be aided by excellent maps, edified by the illustrations, and

informed and delighted by the text. Their professors will doubtless confirm these reactions and will, in addition, be grateful for the excellent documentation, bibliography, and index.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

FRONTIER POLITICS AND THE SECTIONAL CONFLICT: THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Robert W. Johannsen*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 240. \$5.00.)

THIS is a study of political alignments in the Oregon country from 1841 to 1861 in relation to population origins, economic interests, and national policies. Settlers from the Old Northwest and bordering slave states predominated in the early migration, representing Jeffersonianism and frontier democracy in their devotion to decentralization, popular elections, the virtues of an agrarian civilization, self-government, and manifest destiny—the whole conditioned by strong patriotism. One must regret that the author did not deal more fully with the period of the social compact in Oregon, emphasis being entirely upon the relation of these characteristics to events after 1849.

The story here presented begins with the organization of Oregon Territory in the midst of the renewed sectional controversy over slavery in the territories during the Mexican War. It presupposes a broader knowledge of the ensuing decade of sectional strife by the reader than is justified. The congress, in 1848, passed a bill organizing Oregon Territory and extending to it the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787. The author includes at this point a quotation (p. 18) from Senator Butler's speech urging his constituents to go there in armed bands, with their slaves, in defiance of congressional law. This was the senator in defense of whose honor the assault upon Senator Sumner was made, and an illuminating footnote was in order. The area was opposed to the presence of Negroes, slave or free. Slaves were given their freedom by the courts because no local laws establishing slavery existed; slavery was excluded by a popular vote of 7,727 to 2,645; but the people also voted to exclude free Negroes 8,640 to 1,081. That action was tremendously important in congressional debates and in the evolution of the Fourteenth Amendment, a fact which should have been noted. This inadequate presentation of the national background occurs also with reference to the split between Buchanan and Douglas, the Dred Scott Decision, and elsewhere.

On the other hand, there are valuable contributions to our knowledge of Buchanan's far-reaching efforts to destroy Douglas; of the extent of Republican adherence because of free homesteads, railroads, and the tariff, rather than slavery; of the degree to which Douglas Democrats and Republicans could more easily find common ground than could Douglas Democrats and Southern Democrats, represented by popular sovereignty as an antislavery technique, by fusion in the

campaign of 1860, and by subsequent cooperation in the preservation of the Union during the war years.

In some ways, the most valuable part of this study is that dealing with the period after the election of Lincoln. We have here the normal pattern of confusion about compromise, peaceful separation or coercion, and distrust of Southern sympathizers; we find also an unusual combination of strong union sentiment and anti-emancipation sentiment coupled with a disposition to let the rest of the country work out its own salvation.

The monograph is well written and adequately annotated from a wealth of source materials. It must be given serious consideration by those interested in both the West and the Civil War.

University of Michigan

DWIGHT L. DUMOND

THE MILITANT SOUTH, 1800-1861. By *John Hope Franklin*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 317. \$5.00.)

THE *Militant South* is a study of such topics as personal encounters, state militias, citizen soldiers, military schools, expansionist activities, educational backwardness, slavery defense, growing unity, and military preparedness. Painstaking search for evidence yields a great array of significant illustrative material. Many pages of the first seven chapters and most of the last five are a clear and concise story of what happened, but the book as a whole seems to turn the clock backward in the continuing quest for truth. The author observes in an inviting preface to the book he might have written that his "study implies at no point that all Southerners, or even almost all of them, were bellicose or militant." He "is mindful of the existence" of Southern elements "that regarded violence and other forms of precipitate action as revolting," though they "dominated neither thought nor action" in the pre-Civil War generation. Actually, the book is almost entirely unmindful of the existence of unmilitant elements. Limiting expressions are used infrequently; repetitive employment of such words as "men of the South" creates an impression of totality.

As contributing factors to the South's militancy, the preface lists "persistence of the rural environment, the Indian danger, the fear of slaves, an old-world concept of honor, an increasing sensitivity, and an arrogant self-satisfaction with things as they were." The reviewer would delete only one word—the descriptive adjective—from this incomplete list of factors, for how could the author, or anyone else, know that the self-satisfaction of all or even most Southerners was arrogant? Factors that created Southern militancy are repeated in the text, but with little indication that Northern provocation contributed to a militant spirit, either as a factor in itself or as an influence in producing "sensitivity" or "fear of slaves." The preface recognizes "intersectional tension" that transformed an "atmosphere of conflict . . . into aggressive militancy," and the text devotes a few pages to the

Northern "challenge," but neither suggests that false accusation or opprobrious epithet created a militant South. If the external cause were treated as extensively as internal factors, the book would be much longer—and less partisan.

The book is not a study of the Civil War's causes, but the author comes near assigning responsibility solely to Southern militancy for an inevitable conflict: "With every state in the South readying itself for war long before the election of Lincoln, there was little chance for peace." As the author writes out of context in presenting a segment of the South from internal causes only, the North appears guiltless of the clash of arms. More important, by focusing attention on a single quality of some Southerners, the author leaves the impression that there was little else in southern life than violence. He never comes to grips with the more difficult problem of evaluating pugnacious thought and action in terms of the total life of the people. He turns the spotlight on one corner of the portrait—the South on militant parade—where it remains from the first page to the last.

The preface again illustrates method. It lists postwar evidences of "excessive belligerency," among them "the fact that nearly 90 per cent of the 1,886 lynchings in the United States between 1900 and 1930 occurred in the South." A comment follows: "The assertion that the murder capital of the United States moves annually from one Southern city to another has considerable basis in fact and suggests a continuing indifference to violence." The statistic is true; the comment is that of a crusader. The author as historian might have added that lynching declined and disappeared for a few years.

University of Oregon

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON

DREAM AND THOUGHT IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, 1860-1900.

By *Edward Chase Kirkland*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 175. \$3.00.)

In its original form, the material in this book, which explores the philosophy of business and of a business generation, constituted the 1956 Cornell University Messenger Lectures on the Evolution of Civilization. A Guggenheim Fellowship enabled the author to devote a year to exploring on a wide scale the policies of the business community. He examined available statements by businessmen in books, magazine articles, private correspondence, testimony before Congressional and other committees, and statements made by the press and periodicals directed toward the concerns of the business world. In reporting his findings, he sought to avoid a liberal versus conservative point of view, a "robber baron" versus benefactors of mankind approach, and concentrated instead on what businessmen thought and said. Even the provocative word "dream" in the title has been defined by the author to mean no more than unorganized and unsystematic thought on the part of the men studied. No effort has been made to measure words by prac-

tice. The author has operated on the theory that businessmen, like other groups, generally meant what they said.

Such an approach by a less experienced or less perceptive writer would have resulted in a deadly cataloging of statements made by various members of the business community instead of the provocative and fresh point of view which Kirkland's handling of the material has given us. His first essay, "Panic and Pain," for example, suggests that our habit of writing the history of the era in terms of politics, Supreme Court decisions, and briefs of learned counsel has led historians to interpret the structure of business thought primarily as defense propaganda rather than as explanation or comfort for business insecurity in face of the "facts of life." "Panic and perplexity, not pain, gave the first occasion for this sort of business thought" (p. 26). In the "Big House," the author contrasts conventional explanations for the building of enormous mansions by businessmen with the reasons advanced by the owners themselves. Two essays deal with business thought concerning public schools and higher education, and here again the material demonstrates the need for a more balanced presentation of ideas shaping American education than has been achieved in past studies. The essay on "Sisyphus's Work" presents a cogent analysis of positive and negative attitudes of business toward government. The concluding essay, "Don't Shoot the Millionaire," suffers somewhat in comparison with the others, because it covers material more widely known to historians.

Kirkland has admirably achieved his purpose. His essays rest on solid research, he writes clearly and to the point, and he refuses to sit in high judgment on the ideas portrayed. His book demonstrates that history can be provocative and even colorful when written with urbanity rather than partisanship. Some undoubtedly will disagree with his conception of the historian's role, but even they will find his analysis stimulating. His book deserves widespread attention by historians and businessmen alike.

University of Missouri

LEWIS ATHERTON

STANDARD OIL COMPANY (INDIANA): OIL PIONEER OF THE MIDDLE WEST. By *Paul H. Giddens*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1956. Pp. xviii, 741. \$7.50.)

LITTLE by little, the tremendous story of oil in the making of modern America is being written. In the light of the business histories produced by academic scholars, such books as Ida M. Tarbell's seem primitive indeed, not so much because of their excessive bias as because of their failure to use modern instruments of research and techniques of analysis to probe beneath the surface. It becomes steadily clearer that business in general, and the various branches of the oil business in particular, have been heavily penalized by their long habit of secrecy. The more great industries throw open their records, the more certain it becomes that their

lapses have been less sinister and their achievements more creditable than the general public supposed.

The history of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana has an impressiveness which almost justifies the Gargantuan size of this book. When it was organized in 1889 by Rockefeller's Trust, the utilization of the Lima oil pools in Ohio and Indiana was still a novelty. By one farsighted business stroke, the Trust had bought large oil-bearing tracts; by another it had applied to them Herman Frasch's copper oxide process of purifying oil from sulphur. The construction in 1889-1890 of the Whiting, Indiana, refinery, one of the largest in the world, was quickly followed by the purchase of marketing companies and the development of an intricate market network all over the Middle West. Other great refineries arose. When an indignant Minnesota branch manager saw a storekeeper charge a farmer double the just price, cloaking his extortion with the remark that "John D. has just given the University of Chicago another million," he led the Standard of Indiana into an ambitious program of direct rural delivery by tank wagon. At the turn of the century, prolific new sources of oil were obtained from Kansas to Texas. By 1906, the company had assets of \$27.5 millions and was earning at the rate of more than \$10 million a year.

But Professor Giddens' real story, related with verve, accuracy, and finish, begins when the dissolution of the Trust in 1911 thrust the Standard of Indiana upon an independent career. No brief account of this crowded book can adequately describe the many-sided elements in a record which affected the social and political no less than the economic history of the nation. With the advent of the motor age, the supply of gasoline had to be doubled and redoubled; and in this, the cracking process of W. M. Burton and R. E. Humphreys has to be considered along with the new pools, pipelines, and tanks. The Allies "floated to victory" on a sea of oil, a story well told here. Pioneering in the use of ethyl gasoline and in many sales methods, Standard of Indiana became the nation's largest gasoline marketer. Under the robust Colonel Robert W. Stewart, an untiring public speaker, it strove lustily to break down the distrust of big business. Meanwhile, much was done (thanks partly to pressure from the Rockefellers) to humanize the organization. MacKenzie King, who had carried out far-reaching labor-welfare studies for the Rockefeller family and who later became director of industrial relations for the Rockefeller Foundation, gave the Indiana a plan of democratic management of labor which was effectively used from 1919 to 1937. Cutting athwart the postwar history of the company is the dramatic story of the oil scandal, which ended when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., expelled Stewart from control on March 7, 1929. It fell to Edward G. Seubert to guide the management through the ensuing depression, the NRA experiment, the revival, and most of the Second World War. Giddens gives a striking picture of the corporation at the beginning of the 1950's, when it was the second largest oil company in the nation, with assets not far from two billion dollars and about 115,000 stockholders.

Those who essay to write the history of any important aspect of American life since 1890 without consulting this volume will rue their error; it elucidates important aspects of technology, agriculture, both rural and urban ways of life, and public attitudes toward business. Giddens might have given his book a larger circulation by more compression. But the complicated narrative is always lucid, and any reader who judiciously skips over some bogs of business detail will find it interesting. The book is an achievement in which both author and company can take pride.

Columbia University

ALLAN NEVINS

FROM THE DEPTHS: THE DISCOVERY OF POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Robert H. Bremner*. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 364. \$5.50.)

THIS book is a good example of the feasibility and usefulness of combining a monographic and a general, interpretive approach to a major historical problem. In this case, the problem is to explain how the discovery of poverty in the United States came about and how and why attitudes toward it and actions relating to it changed. One finds much that is familiar: the emergence in the second third of the nineteenth century of a concern with the lot of the urban poor, the influence in the post-Civil War decades of the British approach to what was regarded as the scientific handling of charity, the rise of settlement houses and of professional social work, and the movement for the improvement of tenement living, the protection of children, and the melioration of conditions for women working in industry. In traversing this ground, Professor Bremner acknowledges generously his indebtedness to such predecessors as Amos Warner, Frank Watson, Edith Abbott, Jacob Hollander, Daniel McColgan, and Josephine Goldmark, to name only a few of the scores of secondary writers listed in his informative and useful bibliography.

But *From the Depths* is much more than a well-organized and well-written synthesis. Bremner has himself read the basic primary sources and, as a result, has given us not only much new information but interpretations that are both important and original. In addition to his study of the writings of the nineteenth-century humanitarian reformers concerned with the problem of poverty, he has made excellent use of the published reports and the out-of-the-way pamphlet publications of charity organizations, the archives of the Community Service Society of New York, and the papers of J. G. Phelps Stokes. Especially rewarding has been his study of the more popular as well as the more specialized periodicals. It was a happy idea to read widely in popular novels and short stories and to survey the bearings on his theme of the rich and too-little-known graphic art of the period. The illustrations drawn from these sources add much to the format of the book.

Bremner admirably achieves his objective of explaining the factors that made Americans conscious of and sympathetic toward the misfortunes of their fellow countrymen. He shows the relationship between changing attitudes toward poverty, dependency, and insecurity and the rising emphasis on factual information in the social surveys; and he shows how this growing body of data and the experiences of philanthropists and social workers led to legislation on housing, child labor, women in industry, and industrial accidents. The study also nicely delineates the shift that took place from the dominant view that poverty is solely the result of defects in character and unequal endowments to the rising view, so influential in the progressive and New Deal eras, that poverty, insecurity, and insufficiency are primarily the result of social and economic conditions and as such are remediable by social action. The heroes and heroines of the book, the "do-gooders" who heard and heeded the cry from the lower depths, are presented without sentimentality, but with deep appreciation of their contributions to the poor whom they helped and of their part in making American life more wholesome and humane.

Like all books, this one is not without limitations. Further exploration of manuscript sources might have yielded additional information of relevance. Some may feel that the author might profitably have explored the possible uses of recent techniques in the social sciences, especially content analysis, quantification, and the concepts of culture and personality. But those of us who have devoted our studies in history to the efforts to improve the quality of American life for all Americans will welcome this book as a major contribution and Professor Bremner as a gifted and much needed younger colleague.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

LA FOLLETTE AND THE RISE OF THE PROGRESSIVES IN WISCONSIN. By *Robert S. Maxwell*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. viii, 270. \$4.50.)

WISCONSIN politics during the first two decades of the twentieth century has long interested historians and political scientists for the reason that it provided, within a sharply defined area and time span, a laboratory experiment in Mid-western progressivism. Over a space of approximately thirty years, the progressive wing of the Republican party in the state developed a body of political theory and practice, known as the Wisconsin Idea, that was closely scrutinized by other states and often copied. In this volume, Professor Maxwell traces in detail the development of Wisconsin progressivism, sketches its architects and proponents, and analyzes the political forces that produced it.

The shadow of Robert La Follette, as the author points out, hung over the entire Wisconsin movement. He was its theorist, its practitioner, its leader, and his powerful personality dominated it for the term of its existence. At the same

time, Maxwell recognizes the contributions of those whose support was vital to progressivism's success—Nils Haugen, McCarthy, McGovern, Hatton, Blaine, Lenroot, Ekern, Van Hise, and others. The institution of commissions, legislative reforms, conservation, tax and monopoly reforms, social legislation, and other segments of the progressive program are carefully analyzed in the book. The impact of the La Follette regime on the social and economic institutions of the state is also rather carefully explained, with some speculation as to its long-term effects.

Maxwell is not uncritical in his summary of Wisconsin progressivism. The Wisconsin Idea had its flaws and its failures. Some of the heralded reforms did not work out. There were clashes of personality among political leaders which vitiated some of the successes. Nevertheless, in his summing up, the author can point to an impressively long list of affirmative accomplishments chargeable to Wisconsin progressivism, a good many of which were widely adopted by other states and at least some of which opened the way to new approaches to social and economic thinking in later years. As the author suggests, the effects of progressivism in Wisconsin may not yet be fully gone; the violent political oscillations of Wisconsin politics since La Follette's time may be in part a reflection of the heritage of liberalism left by Old Bob and his allies.

This study provides a concise, judicious account of one of the more interesting and dramatic political movements in recent history, carefully researched and well-documented. The volume begins with the state elections of 1900, traces La Follette's struggle with the conservative wing of the Republican party, and recounts in detail the history of the various tax, legislative, and monopoly reforms as they appeared in the progressives' legislative programs. If the book lacks something, it is a greater consideration of the theory of politics and government which underlay the Wisconsin movement and of its relationship to Midwestern and Eastern progressivism at large. However, for the person who is interested in the history of a highly effective and bitterly contested experiment in American political and social reform, Maxwell's book provides the essential information.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

HERBERT HOOVER, PUBLIC SERVANT AND LEADER OF THE LOYAL OPPOSITION: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND CAREER. By *Harold Wolfe*. [Banner Book.] (New York: Exposition Press. 1956. Pp. 507. \$5.00.)

THOUGH Herbert Hoover has been the subject or the author of many books and articles, most of these (including his own *Memoirs*) are polemical and few if any of them meet the needs of the teacher, student, or general reader desiring a convenient and dispassionate account. To provide a "reasonably complete and objective portrait," Professor Wolfe of Winthrop College has undertaken a new biography which, as he frankly states, is based on published sources alone. The resulting book is both more and less than he apparently intended it to be. It is

more than a factual summary, for it contains a considerable amount of critical comment, especially upon Hoover's statements and policies regarding the Great Depression. As the depression dragged on, Wolfe remarks, Hoover emphasized more and more its foreign causes, finally concluding that there had been no serious trouble in the United States until an economic storm struck from abroad in 1931. "Freeing his nation, his party and himself from blame in causing and prolonging the depression eventually became almost an obsession with him," Wolfe says. "This led him to claim that his policies achieved more than they did and to attribute to others more responsibility for their falling short of complete success than the record substantiates." In treating Hoover's foreign policies, the author again is critical, suggesting that "vigorous American leadership" might have restrained the Japanese at the time of the Manchurian crisis. "This leadership was not furnished by the Hoover administration or by that of Roosevelt in time to check Japan." Such interpretive comments, whether or not the reader agrees with them, add to the interest and value of the narrative. But Wolfe falls a little short of his aim, in dealing with foreign affairs, because he has confined himself to too few of the available published sources. If he had read more widely in recent studies, he could have added depth to his treatment of Hoover's diplomacy by discriminating more carefully than he does between the views of the President and those of the Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson. Yet, on the whole, Wolfe has done well what he set out to do. His book is to be recommended as a convenient—and critical—summary of Hoover's career.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE NEW ISOLATIONISM: A STUDY IN POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1950. By *Norman A. Graebner*. (New York: Ronald Press, 1956. Pp. ix, 289. \$4.00.)

THIS volume deals with a variety of recent foreign policy proposals which reached their "final and most perfect expression" in Secretary of State Dulles' dual policies of massive retaliation and liberation of the communist satellites. Crediting Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., for the term, the author combines these diverse ideas under the label "the new isolationism." The relationship of this phenomenon with the traditional nineteenth-century isolationism, or with the "old isolationism" of the 1930's as exemplified by Robert La Follette or Charles Beard, is found in the questionable assumptions that isolationism had "decried all reliance on diplomacy" and that "domestic policy was far more fateful than foreign affairs." Such straining for associations may be useful in political polemics, but a more accurate label would have been "the new nationalism" or "neo-imperialism." These terms would at least suggest the dominant characteristics of the type of proposals Professor Graebner is describing.

The purpose of this book is to provide a history and partisan indictment of the Republican criticisms and policies which conflict with the Truman-Acheson approach to foreign affairs. Published in the midst of the last presidential campaign, and without examination of the *Congressional Record*, congressional hearings, or even systematic newspaper surveys, this account adds nothing to the debate which is not already common knowledge. It begins with 1950 because it was at this point that the "reactionary-nationalist elite" began its major onslaught. No explanation is given of the forces behind McCarthyism other than to offer Samuel Lubell's hypothesis that this type of criticism arose from the "politics of revenge" of the German-Americans. Such a superficial explanation fails to account for such major critics as Senators Knowland and Bridges, or even the late Senator McCarran, none of whom had significantly large German-American constituencies. Nor is there any examination of the role of some of the Catholic hierarchy and other Christian communist-haters in adding to the hysteria of this period. Graebner's real devil is that line of thought which assumes unlimited American power in world affairs, but this optimism or arrogance can be found in leaders of both major parties. As Walter Lippmann has pointed out, the concept of containment, like that of liberation, also assumes an overwhelming preponderance of American power. This book might have had more lasting value if it had analyzed this twentieth-century version of Manifest Destiny. It fails to examine the continuity in thought from Secretary of State Acheson's "negotiation from strength" approach to the insistence of the Eisenhower administration on continuing to prepare larger thermonuclear weapons under a program begun by the Truman administration.

Goucher College

WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

Latin American History

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WEST INDIES. By J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 316. \$5.00.)

THIS exceedingly able popular survey of the Caribbean past and of problems confronting the area today was authored by a professor of history and the vice principal, respectively, of the new University College of the British West Indies, which aims to provide, as one of its major functions, a West Indian interpretation of the tropical American story which has traditionally been told by nonresident scholars. Following immediately upon Elsa Goveia's admirable *Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Mexico City, 1956), this second product of the College's young department of history reinforces the excellent impression made by the first and presages a bright future for local historical studies bearing upon the old sugar colonies.

The authors emphasize the fact that, despite political division, the Caribbean basin possesses geographic, economic, social, and political unity. Both land rim and islands were originally inhabited by red men. These were soon forced into the background by the arrival of small numbers of white men, who laid out tropical plantations and staffed them with West Africans. These blacks, brutally torn from their homes, brought with them a definite outlook and way of life which have survived to a surprising degree through three centuries of relatively uniform existence under common environmental conditions. The result has been the emergence of a distinctive Caribbean civilization and viewpoint.

Misunderstandings of recent times have arisen from the fact that outsiders, ignoring this basic transformation, have blindly sought to continue the old relationships, while the Caribbean peoples, conscious of their emergence as a new social entity, are demanding that they be permitted to control their own destinies. The British, American, and French governments are now grappling with the problem in realistic fashion, and the transition from remote to native rule within family circles is being effected with a minimum of friction.

Of greatest interest to the student of history, though not necessarily to the average reader, will be those sections dealing with the islands during the past century when labor shortages compelled the introduction of Indian coolies, bringing new tension in its wake, and when new capital, conspicuously American, was poured in on a lavish scale. Much is made of the metamorphosis of the entire Caribbean world following construction of the Panama Canal and the preponderant position of the United States resulting therefrom.

An optimistic note is sounded throughout the volume. Stagnation and decay are viewed as things of the past, and self-government in close relationship with the metropolitan countries is held to promise a better future for the West Indian community at large.

Ohio State University

LOWELL RAGATZ

ARMONIAS Y CONFLICTOS EN TORNO A CUBA. By *Emeterio S. Santovenia*. [Colección Tierra Firme, Number 61.] (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 318.)

AFTER many years of study and publications in the field of Cuban history, Santovenia has completed a long-planned work covering the history of Cuba in international relations. Except for a brief introduction covering earlier colonial centuries and a postscript on the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, the book deals with the nineteenth century. The author restricts himself to diplomatic history in the narrow sense. There is little about the development of the movement for independence in Cuba or about the various kinds of activity—piracy, revolutions, filibustering expeditions—which frequently were the occasion for steps taken by governments interested in Cuba. Santovenia is not writing for

specialists in either Cuban or international affairs. He does, however, provide a sound and well-balanced chronicle of the changing patterns of policy affecting Cuba in Spain, Great Britain, France, the United States, and the other American republics. The book should be very useful to readers outside Cuba who may have tended to look at the island only from their particular national points of view.

The story falls into two fairly distinct parts. The first, covering the years before the outbreak of the Ten Years' War (1868), is one in which the Cubans themselves played a very minor role. It includes the threats to Spanish sovereignty in Cuba which Mexico and Colombia cleverly and cautiously used to bring pressure on Spain to recognize their independence; the concern of the United States, Great Britain, and France over any political change which might benefit a rival; the growing pressure from the United States for annexation. In the second part of the story, the Cuban struggle for independence forms the central theme and the policies of the powers are reactions to that movement. Both Europe and the Latin American republics play a smaller part; the United States increasingly dominates the scene. The changing motives and interests which affected the policies of powers are lightly sketched in, but there is no effort to analyze them intensively.

To many readers, the material on Latin American attitudes toward Cuban independence will be particularly welcome because it has been less fully studied than the policies of the United States and European powers. Santovenia clearly delineates the complete subordination of interest in Cuban emancipation to more limited national interests in Colombia and Mexico and the indifference of other Latin American states. It was in the so-called Bolivarian republics—Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia—that official sympathy for Cuba Libre seems to have been greatest. Unofficially, Latin American opinion tended toward sympathy with Cuba, but United States involvement in the Cuban struggle led most Latin Americans to adopt a detached view, on the ground that events in Cuba represented a phase of American imperialism.

Santovenia is aware of the mixture of idealism and self-aggrandizement in United States policy toward Cuba in 1898 and the following years, but he avoids the debunking and sarcastic treatment of United States participation in the war which has been fashionable in this country in recent years. Like all Cubans, Santovenia regrets the imposition of the Platt Amendment. Unlike some, he praises the good judgment and patriotism of the Cuban leaders who accepted it as preferable to an indefinite extension of United States occupation. Throughout the book, he manifests a remarkable ability to deal coolly with subjects highly charged with emotion.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE VARIETIES OF HISTORY FROM VOLTAIRE TO THE PRESENT. Edited by *Fritz Stern*. (New York: Meridian Books. 1956. Pp. 427. \$1.45.) With a masterly essay, Professor Stern introduces selections from great and other historians of modern times on the meaning and purposes of history. His paper-bound book ought to be in the hands of all graduate students and many of their teachers. In it the great debate on history, as science or art, as humanity or social science, as flow, unity, and continuity or succession of unique events, as past politics or cultural synthesis, is vividly illustrated, as are historians' hopes for universality, the limitations of specialization, and the now disavowed purpose of moral teaching. To accompany this volume, Stern or some one else might edit another volume on philosophies of history. *The Varieties of History*, in which many essays appear in English (translated by the editor) for the first time, will give a good many young and some older historians deepened insight into their craft and their profession. As they read, they will realize how many of the bright new views are new only to those who hold them. As one editor of the volume says: "The masters of the past cannot be copied; they can . . . make us see our situation more clearly and perhaps, ourselves more humbly."

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION, A SPECIALIZED AGENCY OF THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS HISTORY AND WORK, 1946-1952. By *Louise W. Holborn*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Liquidation Board of the International Refugee Organization.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 805. \$7.20.) If further endorsement of the importance of Louise Holborn's work on the International Refugee Organization is required, recent events in Hungary emphatically supply it. Miss Holborn introduces her history of the IRO with the assertion that since the second decade of this century integral nationalism, totalitarianism, and world war have provoked mass, involuntary migrations which have had grave international consequences. In this context, and with the Hungarian tragedy fresh in mind, the history of the IRO, important in itself, assumes even larger significance. As a link in the chain of international efforts to cope with the problem of involuntary migrations, the IRO undertook in 1947 the relief and resettlement of the 1,500,000 refugees still remaining from the postwar total of over 80,000,000. This residue of refugees constituted the hard core of nonrepatriables who, at the same time, could not be absorbed into the economic and social life of the communities where they were then existing. The organization and employment of techniques and services adopted by the IRO in carrying out its assignment constitute the most important part of this impressive volume. Basing her endeavors largely upon the reports and publications of the IRO, United Nations, and United States government, Miss Holborn has compiled a detailed and authoritative account. Generous use of pertinent statistics and a two-hundred-page appendix of documents make this an indispensable reference work. Even though, midst the mountains of data, the human aspect of the story is sometimes obscure—as, indeed, it must have been to the IRO

administrators themselves—one is persuaded to agree with the author's conclusions that the IRO was a great humanitarian undertaking and a credit to the free world.

KENT FORSTER, *Pennsylvania State University*

UNITED STATES-PERSIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS: 1883-1921. By *Abraham Yeselson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 252. \$5.00.) This is a useful treatment of "one of the gaps in the studies of American diplomatic history." For the better understanding of contemporary American-Iranian relations, the author has carefully analyzed and presented here the structure of the subsoil in which these relations are rooted. The pattern takes on more than the marginal significance such relations warrant in themselves during the first half of their history, because the author skillfully places it in the perspective of American foreign policy in general. It is interesting to see here applied such policies in relation to "nonintervention; refuge and asylum; recognition; the protection of naturalized Americans; the Open Door policy; extra-territoriality; and government support for private investors abroad." Such subjects as Taft's "dollar diplomacy," Roosevelt's positivism, and Wilson's idealism are also illustrated. The result is a contribution primarily to United States diplomatic history and only secondarily, and in a limited degree, to modern Persian history. The bulk of the source material consists of State Department records in the National Archives. This is at once the strength and the weakness of the study: it is more illuminating for the American side of the relationship than for the Persian. To be sure, similar Iranian archival material is not accessible to the student of modern Persia, even if he is able to handle the language; yet one puts the book down with the conviction that had the author been as well steeped in modern Persian history as in American diplomatic history, and familiar with the chief Persian studies of this period, there would have resulted corresponding enrichment and illumination of the Persian side of the equation. It is perhaps natural that the United States side should dominate in a work such as this, but for complete balance and true perspective, the Persian side of the picture needs equal penetration and illumination. Even for Western sources, the author's net might have been cast farther. Properly disclaiming any need for complete evaluation of the activities and influence of the missionaries whose protection stimulated and concerned early relations, Yeselson might well have profited by some consultation of the readily-accessible primary sources in mission board archives. This would have avoided a number of the errors in fact, certainly would have altered the references to the Kurds, and would probably have affected the final form in which certain diplomatic difficulties are set forth. Wider consultation of British, French, Russian, and German archives (especially, British sessional papers and similar sources) would in some instances have been significant. These strictures, however, are not meant to detract unduly from the substantial worth of this contribution, for which a variety of students of our modern times should be grateful.

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES. Volume II, THE TEN YEARS' WAR, BOOKS II-III; Volume III, THE TEN YEARS' WAR, BOOKS IV-V 24. By A. W. Gomme. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 436; ix, 437-748. \$13.45 the set.) Ten years have passed since the publication of the first volume of this important study of Thucydides' history. Meantime, the author has been occupied with other tasks, including his Sather Lectures on *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, but now, at long last, we have two more volumes of the commentary. Volume I contained introductory material and a detailed commentary on Thucydides' first book, dealing with the background of the Peloponnesian War. The two present volumes carry the study through the first ten years of the war, to the Peace of Nicias in 421. Though Professor Gomme does not reprint the historian's Greek text, he assumes that the reader has it constantly before him, and his commentary consists of countless brief notes upon this text. The author makes no attempt to write a connected history of the war, but he has subjected Thucydides' text to the closest scrutiny and indicates pertinent material provided by inscriptions and archaeology. The notes show wide and deep learning as well as great good sense; Gomme's work will doubtless remain the standard commentary on Thucydides for many years to come.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

SIZILIEN UND ATHEN: DIE BEGEGNUNG DER ATTISCHEN MACHT MIT DEN WESTGRIECHEN. By Hermann Wentker. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1956. Pp. 198. DM 12.) To the Sicilian expedition, Thucydides devotes two books or a quarter of his entire history. These events in the west in the years 415-413 B.C. were central in his story of the greatest war of Hellas down to that time and form the climax of its tragedy. The failure of the expedition cost Athens the war, changing the course of her history and the history of the world. If Athens, by the conquest of Sicily, had secured the hegemony over Greece, there would have been no expansion of Macedonia under Philip II and no conquest of the east by Alexander the Great. The Hellenization of the Orient would have taken a different form, and there might never have been a Roman Empire. Strategically and dramatically, Thucydides was more prophetic than he could know. Why did Athens undertake this policy of western conquest at a time when she was well occupied at home? What were its chances of success, and what conduct of events might have brought that about? These are questions which have been asked often after Thucydides, and opinion has generally tended to regard the whole enterprise as fantastic, a project of the erratic Alcibiades who risked Athens' existence for his own glory. This is substantially what Alcibiades' opponent, Nicias, had argued at Athens when the project was first discussed. Wentker, however, prefers to believe Alcibiades rather than Nicias. Alcibiades' plan to organize the conservatives in Sicily into an alliance against Syracuse and Segesta was sensible in the light of the existing situation. Athens' own commitment would be held to a minimum. After the threat of Syracusan expansion had been ended, the Siciliotes and Sicils under Athens' leadership might eliminate Carthaginian influence on the island and break Spartan control over the Peloponnesus. The factors were: race, Dorian against Ionian; class, nobles against commons; and relationship, mother cities against colonies. The Sicilian cities developed differently from those in Greece, largely because of the tyrannies based on mercenary troops of extra-Sicilian origin;

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

but the relations between the two areas were very close, and Athens was the Sicilian ally against Syracuse as in Greece she was the support of all who feared Sparta. The Sicilian expedition, viewed in its historic setting, makes perfectly good sense. Much of this story has been told before, but not from this point of view. It is useful to have the history of Athens' relations with Sicily thoroughly reviewed. The readable and well-documented book does credit to its author and to his teacher, Hans Schaefer.

C. BRADFORD WELLES, *Yale University*

THE OFFICIAL PRIESTS OF ROME UNDER THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS: A STUDY OF THE NOBILITY FROM 44 B.C. TO 68 A.D. By *Martha W. Hoffman Lewis*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XVI.] (Rome: the Academy. 1955. Pp. 186.) While much has been done on the question of the membership of the priesthoods in Rome, the discovery of new evidence has made a fresh study of the problem desirable. This new material is mainly inscriptional in nature and has furnished the author with additional names of priests and further information concerning the careers of some. Through the effective use of this new evidence, Professor Lewis has contributed greatly to our understanding of the ancient Roman priesthoods, the position of the priests in the nobility, and the policy of the emperors toward the priesthoods. The author has, at the same time, added to our further understanding of the nobility itself, as it existed during the period under consideration. The most important contribution of this work is that portion which deals with the early Empire, since new evidence for the priesthoods of the republican period has already been made available in other studies. This work falls into two parts: the first division deals with the four major colleges and the second with the priestly *sodalitates*. Each division is prefaced by an explanatory chapter, followed by a chapter containing a list of the members of the respective colleges for the period 44 B.C. to A.D. 68. These lists are as complete as it is possible to make them with the evidence now at hand. Statistical data compiled for use in the study of Roman history is not likely to be altogether satisfactory, and thus all ratios and percentages derived from these lists are used simply as a means of establishing relationships and trends. One of the principal difficulties in compiling statistical material of this nature is that of establishing an accurate chronology upon which the validity of any conclusions reached must ultimately depend. This problem has been solved here with results which, it is assumed, will present an approximately correct pattern. The lists of the members of the priestly colleges which Professor Lewis has compiled are carefully broken down chronologically according to colleges, so as to furnish the reader with a quick and convenient reference. Under the name of each priest is scheduled his rank in society along with historical references concerning him. The discussion of each priesthood in the chapters which follow is, of course, based upon these statistics. Because of the careful way in which this subject has been treated, the work will be of special interest to the historian of ancient Rome. Here he will find not only a convenient handbook but a scholarly treatise on a difficult and important subject.

RICHARD H. CHOWEN, *University of South Carolina*

TAX DOCUMENTS FROM THEADELPHIA: PAPYRI OF THE SECOND CENTURY A.D. Edited with introduction and notes by *John Day* and *Clinton Walker Keyes*. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, Number 5.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 342. \$10.00.) This volume is an edition with notes and commentary on the versos of six tax documents whose rectos were previously edited and published by W. L. Westermann and C. W. Keyes in 1932 as *Tax Lists and*

Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. Texts of each of the six versos are given, preceded by a general introduction, and followed by detailed, line-by-line notes on the contents of each verso with elaborate references to other papyri, books, and articles pertinent to the contents. Since versos 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 consist of lists of names followed by the type of tax and amount of payment or arrears, they are not translated. Verso 5, however, is a complete document, two abstracts of leases of government properties, dated about 175, and is fully translated. In verso 1b, accounts in arrears from 160-161 appear to show increasing economic difficulty in Egypt at this time—a trend which seems to be substantiated by the other versos. The analysis of verso 1a is especially brilliant. This praktor's work sheet elucidates methods of tax payments and times of payments. Verso 3, tax payments and arrears, is interesting to the historian, for it shows how unsettled conditions were in Theadelphia just after suppression of the Egyptian Revolt of 153-154. Verso 4, dating from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, is a pittakion register, the most extensive yet published. It resolves many problems concerning the nature of the pittakion and the relation of the pittachiarch to his lessees. In addition to the six versos, there are four appendices on special problems and thirteen indexes of words, names, taxes, officials, etc., which should prove very helpful. The work, begun by Professor Keyes, has been completed by Professor Day with great care and solicitous attention to details. The authors are commendably cautious about generalizations, although they indicate that these documents will provide much information for study of the complex tax structure of Egypt in the second century A.D. The book should be in every library where scholars are working on problems in Egyptian, Hellenistic, or Roman history. Furthermore, these documents will help in the continuing study of that crucial problem—the economic decline of the Roman Empire during the second century A.D.

JAMES E. SEAVER, *University of Kansas*

ROMAN SPAIN: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By F. J. Wiseman. (London: G. Bell and Sons; distrib. by Macmillan, New York. 1956. Pp. vi, 232. \$3.75.) This introduction to the extant monuments of the Pax Romana in Roman Spain is prefaced by some fifty inappropriate pages devoted to military history. At last, in chapter ix, the author addresses himself solely to antiquities. Public buildings and their functions are quite adequately described. The four succeeding chapters may be called an archaeological promenade. All of the extant monuments of the peninsula are described, or located in *situ*, or in museums, and the order of presentation makes this section an excellent planned itinerary. The concluding chapter, "Spain's Contribution to Roman Life and Letters," is a very good essay but no more relevant to the subject than the first chapters. It is probably impertinent to discuss relevance in a book which "has primarily been written for those whose interest in Spain is greater than their interest in Rome." Even this less gifted (?) group should not be told that the Moors invaded Spain during the seventh century or that their expulsion occurred early in the fifteenth century (p. 94). Still, almost anything can be forgiven the author of these words: "Among the panegyrics from which not even the best of Emperors could escape. . . ." A legible and informative map (end paper) and sixteen well-executed plates afford some compensation for the lack of footnotes and bibliography.

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, *University of California, Berkeley*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

MONEY, PRICES, AND CIVILIZATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, FIFTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Carlo M. Cipolla*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1956. Pp. x, 75. \$2.50.) This lucid explanation of the nature and use of money in the Middle Ages gives all the information necessary for a thorough understanding of important problems that have long been misunderstood. The rigidity of classical monetary theory was a serious obstacle to monetary management in the Middle Ages, and to the interpretation of the record. The description of the restricted use of money between the fifth and the ninth centuries is precise and discriminating. It leads into an understanding of the use of money in Europe when trade became more important. The key to the analysis of medieval monetary practices lies in the social stratification between the use of gold coins and silver coins, especially the smallest coins which contained low percentages of silver. There were two, or even three, relatively independent monetary systems in each jurisdiction. The use of gold for large payments was never abandoned in the western Mediterranean, even after the fifth century. The Byzantine solidus, or bezant, was later supplemented by the Arab dinar, and in the thirteenth century by the florin and the ducat. For the daily needs of the common people, pennies of silver were used, and later a larger silver coin, of which the Venetian groat is the earliest example. The silver coins were intended to have an intrinsic value equivalent to their market value, so that it was necessary to manage the currency as a bimetallic system. The principles underlying a true fractional currency were not perceived until the seventeenth century and not generally practiced for another century and a half. Over most of Europe, prices were dominated by the silver coins, and depreciation of mint standards was usually confined to them. The use of pounds, shillings, and pence for accounting is effectively described in a chapter on "Ghost Monies." The terms express numerical relations rather than values, so that they could be applied to any coin: gold, silver, or low-grade silver alloy. The chapter on prices demonstrates vividly the importance of thinking in terms of the relations among various commodities and services. The high costs of transport in relation to the value of the goods moving emphasize the narrow parochialism forced on the community, but some commodities moved over the whole of Europe. The values of books and the number owned by the learned are also significant. For the wealthy, Europe was a field of common culture, for the common people life was confined to their parish.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, *University of Wisconsin*

FELIX'S LIFE OF SAINT GUTHLAC. Introduction, text translation, and notes by *Bertram Colgrave*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 205. \$5.50.) This translation by an accurate scholar is a welcome addition to our knowledge of hagiographical materials. Professor George W. Robinson, in his translation of Eugippius' *Life of Saint Severinus*, observes that the French and the Germans make all excellent pieces of antiquity their own, while the same boast does not apply equally in behalf of the English tongue. Felix's *Life of Saint Guthlac* has long been recognized as an important source for Saxon England. Colgrave not only has supplied us with an excellent translation, all the more necessary since the Latin style of Felix, in the words of Ordericus Vitalis, is somewhat obscure (*aliquantulum obscurus*), but has accompanied the translation with a critical Latin text, based on all

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

available manuscripts, which he has carefully and fully collated and annotated. The task is so well done that it is not likely to be superseded. Scholars will value also the meticulous introduction of twenty-five pages, followed by thirty pages devoted to a study of the manuscripts. A short section on notes and an index conclude this worthy volume.

JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN, *Indiana University*

STUDIEN ZUR CHARAKTERISTIK DES KAROLINGISCHEN KÖNIGTUMS IM 8. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Walter Mohr*. (Saarlouis: Verlag Saarzeitung-Dr. N. Fontaine. 1955. Pp. 96.) This brief monograph narrates the history of the relations between the Carolingian monarchy and the papacy from the death of Charles Martel to the coronation of Charlemagne as Latin emperor. Eschewing the larger ideological issues, it presents a careful analysis of the interplay of dynastic, political, and ecclesiastical parties in the area increasingly dominated by the Carolingian state. It proposes that the idea of the translation of the empire from the east to the west was born of the developing mutual interests of the Carolingian princes and the popes in their joint battle against the Lombard kings and their allies in the peripheries of the Frankish domains. While this is not particularly original, the author goes further and argues from the relative infrequency of important political action between 781 and 800 that the intrinsic translation of the empire may be said to have taken place by the earlier date of the two, that is, during the pontificate of Hadrian I. The event of Christmas, 800, seems therefore to have been a historical formality, a recognition of what had essentially taken place some time before. This interpretation has the advantage of coinciding with a significant medieval tradition concerning the translation of the empire. Most weightily expressed by Innocent III, this tradition stressed the role of Hadrian and minimized or overlooked that of Leo III. Dr. Mohr's interpretation, however, has the disadvantage of failing to explain how it was that the actual coronation waited until Leo's pontificate.

JOHN H. MUNDY, *Columbia University*

SAINT PETER DAMIANI AND CANONICAL SOURCES: A PRELIMINARY STUDY IN THE ANTECEDENTS OF GREGORIAN REFORM. By *J. Joseph Ryan*. Preface by *Stephan Kuttner*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Number 2.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1956. Pp. xviii, 213.) New ground, only lightly touched upon by St. Peter Damiani's biographers and the students of the Leonine or Gregorian reform, is broken by this investigation. To place St. Peter Damiani (1007-1072) in the development of contemporary canon law, to establish with precision his knowledge of the canonical collections in use, and to evaluate the Camadulian monk as a canonist, are salient tasks undertaken by the author of this excellent, lucid monograph. Divided into three parts, the study begins with a discussion of the probable canonical collections available to Damiani and some methodological considerations peculiar to the present form of his extant works. The second part consists of 296 texts excerpted from the known works; each text is identified, compared with its source, and commented upon—sometimes at considerable length. The third part summarizes all that can presently be concluded on Damiani the canonist, his sources, and his own contribution to the developing jurisprudence of his age. Three extremely valuable tables of cross reference conclude the work. A preface by Stephan Kuttner, President of the Institute of Research and Study in Medieval Canon Law, nicely places the monograph in the larger framework of the problems of the great intellectual and juridical ferment of the eleventh century. The author places Damiani among the major canonists and finds his principal sources

among forms of the ancient *Dionysio-Hadriana* and the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms. Damiani's limited use of a Pseudo-Isidorian collection is demonstrated, but all questions pertinent to it are not laid to rest. The valid question as to whether Damiani himself produced a canonical collection is raised for further investigation. In the best scholarly tradition, as his *res novissimae* are established, the author freely raises questions he has not answered. Medievalists can long build with the aid of Professor Ryan's solid monograph.

SCHAFFER WILLIAMS, *Shaftsbury, Vermont*

FEUDAL MILITARY SERVICE IN ENGLAND: A STUDY OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND MILITARY POWERS OF THE *BARONES* IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By I. J. Sanders. [Oxford Historical Series, British Series.] (London: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xv, 173. 21s.) This is a highly technical, well-documented, and detailed study, bibliographically up to date. It attempts to explain the origin of tenure *per baroniam* and the distinction made in the thirteenth century between *barones* and tenants-in-chief by knight service. Tenure *per baroniam* was merely a matter of record; the progressive introduction of documents in the thirteenth century had made a general term more precise. *Barones* paid a baronial relief, a heavy burden; the words *per servicium militare* spared a tenant both the rank and its consequences. Holding a fraction of a barony made its holder a *baro*; the *baronia* never lost its identity even when divided among coheiresses. Neither the size of his holdings nor wide powers of justice made a man a *baro*. The author goes on to an examination of the position of the *barones qua barones* in the military organization, warning the reader that this is a difficult subject. It involves such topics as fractional military service, castle-guard, and the smaller quotas summoned by Edward I. Some interesting speculations are presented to explain the latter but the conclusion is that they were the result of "a typically English development, unplanned but effective and workable." Otherwise the reviewer does not find substantial progress beyond the earlier work of Round, Pollock and Maitland, Stenton, and Powicke. Appendixes present a learned discussion of relief, print records of military service from the Public Record Office (for 1218, 1229, and 1245), and conclude with an elaborate chart of scutage and military obligations of the lords of many baronies in the thirteenth century. The reader will be grateful for summary paragraphs at the ends of chapters but will resent being left, at the end of the book, in a confused, confusing, and gigantic metaphor.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD, *Smith College*

LE LIVRE D'AGENAIS PUBLIÉ D'APRÈS LE MS. BODLEY 917. By George P. Cuttino. [Cahiers de l'association Marc Bloch de Toulouse, Documents d'histoire méridionale, Number 1.] (Toulouse: Centre régional de documentation pédagogique, 1956. Pp. xxx, iv, 83.) This collection of feudal documents emanating from the transfer of the Agenais by Philip III of France to Edward I of England in 1279 has been edited from a manuscript compiled between 1283 and 1294 containing eighteen documents in Latin and four in Gascon. With the exception of two documents dated 1239, all are for the years between 1279 and 1283. They are concerned with the actual details of the transfer and with listing the duties and services that Edward could expect from the feudality of the region. The edition is accompanied by an introduction giving a complete description of the manuscript, its history, and the historical background for the transfer of the Agenais. There is a chronological index, a table of rubrics, a glossary of Gascon terms, and an index of persons and places. Four photographic reproductions of pages of the manuscript are used as illustrations of its paleography and illumination. Both the editing of the manuscript and the introduc-

tion are well done. It is unfortunate that the printer had to make such awkward page insertions in the introduction and that the person and place index refers to document numbers and subsection numbers, which are difficult to locate in the text.

CYRIL E. SMITH, *Marquette University*

GUILLELMI DE OCKHAM: OPERA POLITICA. Volume III. Edited by H. S. Offler. (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press; New York: Barnes and Noble. 1956. Pp. ix, 322. \$12.50.) Although designated as Volume III, this is only the second volume to appear thus far in the projected new and critical edition of all of William of Ockham's political works by R. F. Bennett and H. S. Offler, under the auspices of an imposing consulting board including C. R. Cheney, E. F. Jacob, R. Klibansky, M. D. Knowles, and Sir Maurice Powicke. The three tractates in this volume are ably edited by H. S. Offler from the extant manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris [Latin 3387] and are each preceded by a brief and informative introduction. Together they comprise the polemics drawn up by Ockham against Pope John XXII and his successor, Benedict XII. The first of them, the *Epistola ad Fratres Minores* addressed to Ockham's confreres, contains a summary of his conclusions on behalf of his superior, Michael of Cesena, against Pope John XXII's constitutions on Evangelical Poverty. The second and third, the tractates *Contra Ioannem* and *Contra Benedictum*, pertain to the controversy over the question of the Beatific Vision which had broken out in the last years of Pope John XXII's pontificate. Pope John XXII's retraction of his originally erroneous views on the subject, on his death bed, although accepted by Benedict XII, did not satisfy William of Ockham, who included both popes in his indictment. The significance of these polemics in the political field, as pointed out by Offler, lies in the fact that in them Ockham set forth his characteristic views on the relations between the church and the empire: that the pope had no greater power over the emperor of the Romans than he had over the kings of any kingdom whatsoever; that the emperor did not depend on the pope, since there were emperors before there were popes; and that there was no legal justification for the assertion that the elected emperor of the Romans needed papal approval before assuming office (pp. 160, 295-97). In the tractate *Contra Ioannem*, too, William of Ockham proclaimed the superiority of the universal church over any one general council or any one of the popes (p. 68). With the publication of this volume, some sixteen years after the first in the series, we may all rejoice that however horrendous the catastrophe of war may have been, it has merely delayed but has not ended so scholarly an enterprise. We may now all look forward with renewed hope to the appearance, in the not too distant future, of the remaining volumes. For this series, as Professor McIlwain asserted in his review of the first volume (*AHR*, XLVIII [October, 1942], 82-83), "when complete . . . must prove to be one of the most significant contributions to the knowledge of medieval thought made in our time."

PEARL KIBRE, *Hunter College*

THE RECOVERY OF THE HOLY LAND. By Pierre Dubois. Translated with an introduction and notes by Walther I. Brandt. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number LI.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 251. \$4.50.) Pierre Dubois was the author of twelve tracts that appeared in France during the first thirteen years of the fourteenth century. He stood on the periphery of the group of legists who were advisers and councilors to Philip the Fair without actually having been one of them himself. His most important tract, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte*, together with the lesser *Oppinio cuiusdam suadentis regi Franciae ut regnum*

Ierosolimitanum et Cipri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione Egipti, is here translated into English in its entirety for the first time. The translation is based primarily on the edition of the text by Langlois, but the translator has added identifications of Dubois' numerous quotations from Aristotle and canon law—an arduous task, to say the least. There is a long introduction divided into the following sections: biographical sketch of Dubois, the appeal to public opinion, historical background, the dispute with Boniface VIII, the affair of the Templars, ideas in *The Recovery*, a critical estimate of Dubois, precedents for his ideas, his significance, and the manuscript and editions of *The Recovery*. The translator has added a most useful critical account of Dubois' writings, all of which are summarized, and of works on Dubois and his times. This is not the place to summarize the argument of *The Recovery*. It is enough to say that Dubois' ideas have earned him the titles of "a forgotten radical" and "a medieval radical." Professor Brandt properly observes: "His significance lies in the very fact that his ideas were not original; he serves as a mirror in which a multitude of ideas current in his age are reflected." *The Recovery*, then, is an invaluable document for an understanding of the climate of opinion of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. We are indebted to Brandt for making it available in a readable and scholarly translation. This reviewer has noted only two minor points with which he takes issue: on page 6 the date of the coronation of Clement V is confused with the date of his election (it is given correctly on page 28); on page 16 it is surprising to have King John of England described as "incompetent." On page 60, in connection with written legal documents, it might be suggested that Dubois was probably familiar with records of the innumerable *procès* between England and France that begin shortly after 1259.

G. P. CUTTINO, *Emory University*

THE AGINCOURT WAR: A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE LATTER PART OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR FROM 1369 TO 1453. By *Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred H. Burne*. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books. 1956. Pp. 359. \$5.60.) Readers of Colonel Burne's earlier works will be familiar with his approach to the history of medieval warfare. This book is a sequel to his last volume, *The Crecy War* (reviewed in *AHR*, LXI [October, 1955], 166), and covers the Hundred Years War after the Peace of Brétigny in 1360. It is not so much a history of the war as a discussion in military terms of the military problems, with comments on the leadership of the chief figures. Since the author, unlike the usual academic scholar, is an experienced soldier, his efforts at rethinking these problems from a professional point of view have a quality of refreshing novelty. He does not hesitate to take issue with previous scholars, such as Oman, Ramsey, Delbrück, Wylie, Waugh, and Lot, partly on his own interpretation of the sources, partly on "inherent military probability," and especially from his personal reconnaissance of the various battlefields. Since he fought over some of the terrain in World War I, he must be credited with a practical appreciation of military topography. For instance, he tested by personal inspection the possibility of covering with a barrage of arrows the English passage of the Seine in 1419. Without making similar local observations, one would hesitate to challenge his conclusions. Of particular interest are his discussions of the battles of Valmont, Baugé, Cravant, Verneuil, the Herrings (Rouvray), Patay, Formigny, and Castillon. The recovery of Orleans is presented as a military operation, in military terms, and not merely as a setting for Joan of Arc. The maneuvering around Pontoise in 1441 excites the author's enthusiasm merely as displays of military skill, "one of the most remarkable bloodless campaigns of the Middle Ages." Formigny, he remarks, "contained a strategical feature almost unique in medieval warfare—two

armies operating on exterior lines [effecting] a concentration on the battlefield;" although he admits this may have been due to chance. Throughout the book, the author offers opinions on the importance of morale in medieval armies which are thought-provoking and probably sound.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL, *Williamstown, Massachusetts*

MAGISTRI JOHANNIS HUS TRACTATUS DE ECCLESIA. Edited by S. Harrison Thomson. [Studies and Texts in Medieval Thought.] (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer and Sons for the University of Colorado Press. 1956. Pp. xxxiv, 251.) Students of late medieval religious thought owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Thomson for this scholarly edition of John Hus's *De ecclesia*, the work in which the Czech reformer defines the church as the totality of the predestinate. The importance of this document can scarcely be overestimated, for it was written at the height of the Czech reformer's conflict with his more conservative fellow Bohemians, was used by his enemies at the Council of Constance as the chief source from which they extracted the heresies for which he was condemned to be burned at the stake, became an important guide for the more radical Taborites and Unity of the Czech Brethren who kept alive the Czech reform movement, and provided grist for the mills of the Protestant reformers after Luther's "discovery" of it in 1519. In his introduction, Thomson shows that Hus used many of the thoughts and arguments of John Wycliffe, a large number of them verbatim, but that all the conclusions are Hus's own and are in all fundamental respects in harmony with the Czech reform movement. To give us this text, Thomson has collated nineteen manuscripts of the *De ecclesia*, written by Czech scribes and dating from 1413 to 1425—no autograph is extant—as well as the earliest printed editions, including the one for which Luther was responsible, published in Hagenau in 1520. The resulting text is as accurate and reliable as modern scholarship can make it. Much attention is given in the critical apparatus to the indebtedness of Hus to Wycliffe. The book is provided with indexes of names and places, scriptural references, and subject matter.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Indiana University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

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THE TUDORS. By Christopher Morris. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 202. \$4.50.) In a preface to a series of pleasant, readable essays on the Tudor monarchs, Christopher Morris brushes aside any hint that the book represents "original research"; but this disclaimer neither embraces the scholarship, which is thorough and current, nor disallows his contribution to our understanding of the Tudors. Morris expressly limits himself to an analysis of personalities and their impact on English history, touching only on such historical backgrounds as suit his purpose. It is therefore rather puzzling to find him devoting two introductory chapters to a discursive and quixotic tour of the cultural, social, economic, and governmental characteristics of the period, tilting at windmills here and there as he goes. One may start a hare by asserting that Tudor "toughness" was a necessary condition to Tudor culture, that Elizabethans were seldom introspective, that the peasant uprisings came very near to calling "the whole Tudor bluff," that the English church at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was "makeshift," that "in 1528" the prose of the Prayer Book was poisoned by "a clique of clergymen"; but it is to be doubted that such perambulatory history will rouse a lion. Such animadversions will certainly be excused in view of the enthusiasm with which Morris has pursued his royal quarry. Henry VII turns out to be less dour, less miserly than Bacon's portrait. There is considerable evidence of his love for music,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

hunting, and games; and to triple his income and liquidate the debts of the Crown gives penuriousness the status of a virtue. Henry VIII is a charmer in youth, a man of wrath in his illness and age; yet in the eyes of his people, *defensor imperii* as well as *defensor fidei*. Morris sees the divorce too exclusively in terms of sexual passion ("Nothing else will account for the facts"), admitting only secondarily Henry's very possibly genuine qualms of conscience and his desire for a male heir, a desire most certainly shared by his subjects. Morris makes Henry's government "revolutionary," an assertion hardly to be gathered from G. R. Elton's thesis that Henry's government had undergone a revolution. Edward VI is drawn as the gifted young prince with high promise, whose preference for the ambitious Dudley over the socially-minded Somerset was detrimental to the national interest. Mary, too, might have been the model Tudor ruler ("the only adult Tudor with a genuine conscience") were it not for her sex, her childlessness, her illness, and her tolerance toward Elizabeth. Morris' Elizabeth is neither the chaste goddess of the poets nor the hussy of scandalmongers, but something of each. Of her affairs of the heart, he is too inclined to accept contemporary gossip at its face value, too little inclined to accept her own statements; and his adjudication of her case as "technical innocence" invidiously convicts her. There is much to support his opinion that vacillation was her most effective ally. Unlike Herrick's virgins, who make much of time, Morris sees time as making much of Elizabeth. An excellent collection of lesser-known portraits handsomely supplements the text.

W. GORDON ZEEVELD, *University of Maryland*

ROBERT HOOKE. By Margaret 'Espinasse. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 192. \$3.75.) In writing the first modern biography of Robert Hooke, Mrs. 'Espinasse sets herself a dual purpose—to recount his scientific achievement and to portray his personality. In regard to the first aim, she apologizes for her lack of scientific education, explaining that her true interest is "to do justice to the person" (p. v). Paradoxically, she comes much closer to Hooke the scientist than to Hooke the man. Although she does not attempt to probe beneath the surface of his scientific work, she does capture Hooke's infinite curiosity and enthusiasm which, coupled with his brilliant mind, led him to adorn so many fields of science. In attempting to rescue Hooke's personality from the unfavorable judgment of history, the author's enthusiasm carries her so far that she succeeds in eliminating all of the acid from a strong personality. Jealous, mistrustful Robert Hooke becomes good-natured, lovable Robert Hooke. To justify her interpretation, Mrs. 'Espinasse catalogues Hooke's friendships, drawing her evidence almost entirely from his diaries. While they undoubtedly provide many insights, the diaries do present Hooke's personal relations as seen by Hooke. Moreover, some of the quotations suggest a different man. Nearly every friendship traced through the diary was interrupted at least once by an entry (dare we call it mistrustful?) such as, "Hoskins belyd me, as he does every time" (p. 125). Even Boyle was not immune. When to these outbursts is added other evidence, such as the melancholy fact that the Royal Society seldom elected to its Council the man who provided most, if not all, of the intellectual content of its early meetings, Mrs. 'Espinasse's comprehension of Hooke appears rather flat. Such is her ardor to restore the man that the affair with Grace appears to her as a charming, romantic idyll. After all, the girl was his niece. That Hooke was a man of genius few will deny. The memory of his genius is not enhanced by denying the complexities of his character; indeed, it is difficult to reconcile his genius with the amiable gadabout that Mrs. 'Espinasse depicts.

RICHARD S. WESTFALL, *State University of Iowa*

THE HUMANITARIANS AND THE TEN HOUR MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

By *Raymond G. Cowherd*. [The Kress Library of Business and Economics, Number 10.] (Boston, Mass.: Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. 1956. Pp. 27.) Much has been written about the passage of the factory acts, and numerous accounts have described children working long hours in wretched mills and the passionate endeavors of the humanitarians to end these evils. It is the merit of Cowherd's account that he adds new information. He points out that not all the millowners were villains, that many of them gave leadership and financial support to the ten-hour movement, that by 1846 some three hundred Yorkshire manufacturers wished some regulation, and that of seventy-eight interviewed forty-seven were for a ten-hour day and thirty-one for an eleven-hour day. The defect of Cowherd's account is that he spends too much time on an old story and too little on his "benevolent millowners." A short study of the model manufacturers would do much to further that healthy revision of the industrial revolution which T. S. Ashton has urged and to which Cowherd has ably, though too tersely, contributed.

DAVID ROBERTS, *University of Washington*

FEAR GOD AND DREAD NOUGHT: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET LORD FISHER OF KILVERSTONE. Volume II, YEARS OF POWER, 1904-1914. Selected and edited by *Arthur J. Marder*. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1956. Pp. 521. 35s.)

This interesting collection of letters affords the reader amusement and diversion, as well as information. It forms a running commentary on both prominent political personages and naval officials. Anyone interested in English history of the period will be entertained, and he need not possess any knowledge of or interest in naval affairs. In fact, the novice who begins reading on page one should feel that he has become a naval authority and almost as well informed as the king himself before he reaches page 509. The author supplies excellent introductions at the beginning of each of the four chapters, and the footnotes identify the individuals mentioned in the letters. The index is of persons and gives naval and military ranks as well as social titles, but it does not indicate the official positions held during the period the book covers. This data would have been helpful. Admiral Fisher never suffered from modesty, and the one apparent fault of the editor is a tendency to take him at his own evaluation. For example, on page 63, the author says of H.M.S. *Dreadnought*: "She was his particular ship. He had tremendous pride in her and boyish excitement over what was an entirely new design." Fisher always took the attitude that he had created the all big gun battleship. In fact, the United States Navy was ahead of him, as is stated on page 170 of the 1914 edition of the British annual, *Jane's Fighting Ships*, under the data describing the U.S.S. *South Carolina* and *Michigan*: "These ships, although laid down after, were projected *before* the British *Dreadnought*; and so may be considered as the first 'Dreadnoughts' (i.e., all big gun ships.)" Nevertheless, Jackie Fisher was always interesting and colorful, and this book is very well done.

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN, *Washington, D. C.*

BRITISH LABOUR AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1924. By *Stephen Richards Graubard*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 30.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. 305. \$5.50.)

The author of this monograph has had access, in addition to the printed reports and periodicals of the British labor movement, to the unpublished minutes and reports of the Labour party's Advisory Committee on International Questions, a body founded to study problems of foreign policy and make recommendations to the Labour executive and the parliamentary

party. As the Committee included such able men as Sidney Webb, H. N. Brailsford, G. D. H. Cole, Arnold Toynbee, and Leonard Woolf, it provided a steady stream of useful information. A study of its minutes has revealed divisions and points of view not otherwise known. The author, friendly toward labor, expounds the thesis that in the years 1919-1924 the British labor movement established an outlook with respect to Russia that in spite of all disagreement was never seriously modified. He points to the unanimity with which in 1917 all sections rejoiced over the great revolution. While there was a general dissociation from the aims and methods of the succeeding Bolshevik regime, the majority continued to urge that Russia be left undisturbed to work out its destiny. The Advisory Committee's minutes, however, reveal the support of some, including Sidney Webb, for intervention as a war measure. (A member of the Committee once told the reviewer that Webb was "hot" for intervention.) The rank and file of the movement, and even some of the constitutionalist leaders, nevertheless, were ready to resist the coalition government's policy of aid to counterrevolution and to Poland, even to the point of threatening direct action. After 1920, the rational majority understood that no British government seriously entertained schemes to destroy the USSR, but labor spokesmen and Labour governments continued an active solicitude for the Russian experiment. The author deals fully with another aspect of the Labour party's policy, namely, the effort to protect itself from destruction at the hands of those it was so willing to befriend. He recounts the long struggle against the Communist parties both in Britain and in the international movement. With no sense of inconsistency, the Labour party continued this resistance to Communist penetration of the West simultaneously with protection of Russia from its enemies. One result was the formation of an Opposition myth that the Labour and Communist parties were really in cooperation. This belief helped defeat the first Labour government in 1924, which is the point where this study terminates.

CARL F. BRAND, *Stanford University*

HISTORY OF NIGERIA. By Sir Alan Burns. (5th ed.; London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; distrib. by Macmillan Company, New York. 1955. Pp. 349. \$6.75.) Reprinted five times since 1929, this useful book has thus far been a standard history of Nigeria. After sixty pages on the country's geography and the history of its peoples before the British advent, Sir Alan devotes his best 190 pages to the political and military history of the establishment of British rule. In the last fifty pages, he summarizes recent developments in religion and education, land tenure, the judicial system, the civil service, communications, and trade and industry. Thirty pages of relevant treaty texts are included in the appendix. As a British official in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and elsewhere for half a century, Sir Alan was an active participant in some of the events he describes. He deserves our appreciation for his industry in combining a busy official life with the writing of this and several other useful volumes on the British colonies. In this revision, the author has made three types of changes. First, he has brought the statistical information up to date. Second, he has added a chapter on "Modern Nigeria," largely a summary of the new constitutional arrangements of 1947, 1951, and 1954. The third and most interesting change is the systematic deletion or rewriting of numerous passages, particularly in the chapter on the civil service and in the concluding chapter, where Sir Alan had occasionally slipped away from dispassionate historical analysis into intemperate and biased judgments of the contemporary scene. For example, among the passages now deleted were these: "The loud-mouthed demagogue who preaches self-government and independence would be silent if he thought that there was the slightest chance of these things becoming facts." "To live in the same house with, or even in the next house to, a man who has noisy,

loud-mouthed servants is one of the most terrible experiences one can meet in West Africa, and it is no exaggeration to say that most of the servants in Nigeria are both noisy and loud-mouthed." These deletions and revisions have improved the book, but it still has the understandable limitations of the climate of opinion in which it was written a generation ago. Since that time new source materials on Nigerian history have been uncovered, anthropological and other sciences have given us new perspective on African behavior and institutions, and Nigerian and other scholars with different preconceptions have begun to publish.

VERNON MCKAY, *Johns Hopkins University*

ARCHIVES YEAR BOOK FOR SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. Sixteenth Year, Volumes I and II. Seventeenth Year, Volume I. Published by Authority of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science. Edited by *A. Kieser, et al.* (Pretoria and Cape Town: Government Printer. 1953; 1954. Pp. 323; xi, 391; 313.) The first 1953 volume contains three dissertations. J. B. de Vaal (D.Litt.) defends João Albasini (1813-1888), a Portuguese hunter-trader who "became a Transvaaler" and wielded great influence over natives in the turbulent Zoutpansberg, against many charges, particularly that of disloyalty to the Transvaal. J. D. Kriel (M.A.) treats church-state relations in the Orange Free State, 1854-1902. Vernon D. Forbes (M.A.) establishes, with the greatest possible precision, Beutler's route into the eastern Cape in 1752. Forbes writes in English, de Vaal and Kriel in Afrikaans. Each uses the expected archival sources; Forbes also did field work and de Vaal exploited the Mozambique archives and family papers pertinent to Albasini's activities as Portuguese Vice-Consul in the Transvaal, 1858-1872. The second 1953 volume also contains three dissertations. W. S. van de Westhuizen (D.Ed.), writing in Afrikaans, uses governmental and church archives in the first fully detailed analysis of Cape education for whites and nonwhites "under" the central School Commission, 1804-1839. Margaret Park (M.A.) offers an entirely favorable appraisal of the mid-century colonizing venture of a philanthropic English Methodist, William Josiah Irons, who successfully recruited four hundred British emigrants and settled them on twelve thousand acres around Verulam in Natal. This interesting study, written in English, uses Irons' letter books and might profitably be read by American students. Ds. B. Spoelstra (M.A.), writing in Afrikaans, concisely but systematically analyzes how, by employing the "conciliation policy," Botha was able to assume control in a self-governing Transvaal so soon after the conquest. The 1954 volume contains Anthonie Eduard du Toit's study of the eastern Cape frontier, 1847-1866. This is less a narrative of events than an analysis of policy formulation. Officialdom is omnipresent and "thieving natives" more in evidence than land- and labor-hungry frontiersmen. Although a doctoral dissertation, the work represents years of study, mature reflection, and amazing industry in both London and South African governmental archives and in private papers (e.g., the Southey papers, never before utilized). Missionary society archives were not used. Fortunately, du Toit writes in English to reach "a wider circle of students," for chapters xv-xviii should prove provocative and useful topical summaries. The monographs in each volume have ample footnotes, bibliographies, and indexes.

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LES MÉMOIRES DE TRÉVOUX ET LE MOUVEMENT DES IDÉES AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE, 1701-1734. By *Alfred R. Desautels, S.J.* [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., Volume VIII.] (Rome: the Institute, 1956. Pp. xxvii, 256. \$4.00.) In this interesting study, Father Desautels has worked through the *Mémoires de Trévoux* for the years 1701-1734 to illustrate the attitude of its Jesuit editors toward the major intellectual problems of the period. Scholars will welcome his work both for itself and as a *Wegweiser* through the *Mémoires*. The author undertakes to consider the attitude of the *Mémoires* toward philosophy (science, metaphysics, and epistemology), morals and education, theology, and the defense of Christianity. In the course of his presentation, he develops a major thesis that the Jesuits were not really alert to the danger of the "new learning" until after the publication of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* (1734). There can be little question about his proving that the editors of the *Mémoires* failed to see the danger. Desautels seems at times shocked at the evidence of their blindness. They failed to understand the import of Locke's psychology and theory of knowledge; they were not even alert to the dangers of Bayle's teaching. They opposed Cartesianism halfheartedly, yet supported Descartes against Newton. Their contempt for Aristotle, though veiled, was often not less than that shown by the Cartesians. The silence of the *Mémoires* was equally revealing; though other theological works by heretics were reviewed, none of the English Deists' books were mentioned. Furthermore, Montesquieu's *Persian Letters*, the successive edition of Fontenelle's *Histoire des Oracles*, and Gracián's *Heros*, to mention the most striking, simply failed to appear

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

in the *Mémoires*. Desautels explains that the Jesuits hoped to convert Bayle to Catholicism, that Fénélon and Fontenelle had done favors to the Order, etc., yet he has to conclude that Jesuit orientation toward the classroom and school boys seems to have blinded them to the dangers of the new learning (*sic*; p. 241). His discussion of Jesuit reaction to other problems is equally interesting. Pascale and Bossuet, who had done ill to the Order, suffered, even after death, at Jesuit hands. In the Jansenist controversy, all allies were welcome; the Jesuits even forgave and embraced the aged Malebranche, when he refused to accept a Jansenist offer of alliance. They momentarily closed ranks with the Dominicans to fight Jansenism in the Thomist-Molinist controversy over grace. Their response to biblical criticism by an act of faith seems inadequate, but their handling of the problems of probabilism and the Chinese rites shows the flexibility of the Order. Since the *Mémoires* were involved in practically every issue of the period, these are only a few of the questions that Desautels considers. Since the author frankly states his own position, no one need cavil at him for his attitude toward the problems he discusses. His presentation, buttressed by obvious scholarship, is frank and direct, proving that he is a historian as well as a Jesuit.

JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

DU PONT DE NEMOURS: SOLDAT DE LA LIBERTÉ. By *Pierre Jolly*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1956. Pp. 303. 1,000 fr.) This is a very readable and informative book, although somewhat uneven. For the early part of Du Pont's career, the author has relied on the biography by Schelle and on documents published for the Du Pont family by Mrs. B. G. du Pont during the last thirty years. The chapters dealing with the activities of the friend and disciple of Turgot in the years between the Treaty of 1783 and the convocation of the *Etats-Généraux* and with his role as a commercial expert under Vergennes are soberly written and show that the author has explored and utilized the French archives more thoroughly than any of the previous biographers of the champion of physiocracy. The patriotic and courageous yet prudent conduct of Du Pont during the Revolution and immediately following is well characterized. The part played by Du Pont in the Louisiana purchase, his friendship with Jefferson, his participation in the clandestine opposition to Napoleon, his work in the *Chambre de Commerce de Paris*, and his first voyage to America present a vivid picture drawn largely from original archival material. The last chapters, treating of Du Pont's life from 1812 to his death (August 7, 1817) are not so well documented. Obviously the author has obtained most of his information in Paris and seems unaware, for instance, that the history of the Du Pont de Nemours Company has already been written (p. 220). The summary of the treatise on the *Education nationale aux Etats-Unis* is too sketchy and uncritical, and one misses any mention of the project of a constitution for the "Equinoctial republics," which was in fact the political testament of the old physiocrat. Altogether the author has given a good portrait of a man who during his long life was a faithful friend of America while retaining his allegiance to his native country and who kept to his death the love of liberty which was the main tenet of the physiocratic creed. This reviewer, however, would hardly share the estimate of the author on "la puissante originalité de son style" (p. 3), and, as he has done on several similar occasions, cannot too strongly regret the absence of an index which would facilitate the use of a book teeming with interesting details and original views.

GILBERT CHINARD, *Princeton University*

THE APOSTLE OF LIBERTY: A LIFE OF LAFAYETTE. By *Maurice de la Fuye* and *Emile Babeau*. Translated by *Edward Hyams*. (New York: Thomas Yoseloff.

1956. Pp. 344. \$5.00.) The publishers of this newest biography of Lafayette promise the reader a "penetrating analysis" and a "lavishly documented record." It is nothing of the sort. If the book has any distinction at all, it is as a rare English language example (in a not always adequate translation) of the latter-day amateur school of royalist history. There is an occasional breadth of viewpoint and open-mindedness to reassure us that time does not stand still, that viewpoints can change. The authors would probably insist that they have written objective history, but they all too frequently lapse back into their obvious predilections for Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and for the aristocracy. Much is left unsaid concerning the October days and Lafayette's role at the time, but the names of the aristocratic members of the royal bodyguard who were victims of the attack on the palace are listed. Then, too, there are frequent traces of the familiar obsession with conspiracy and freemasonry, and such terms as "reds," "scum from the lowest quarters," and "paid agitators" help set the tone. The factual story of Lafayette's long career is indifferently told. Often the hero of two worlds is forgotten amidst a preoccupation with the irrelevant or unimportant. When he is the subject of discussion, the authors reveal a rather casual approach to their material and to their sources. Suffice it to say that the works most frequently cited are obscure and that aristocratic names and titles abound. When the Girondins are discussed, a verse from a poem by the comtesse de Noailles is quoted; and at the end of the book another poem by Mme. Amable Tastu is quoted, in both English and French, in a discussion which reads like nothing so much as an Osbert Lancaster parody. Professor Gottschalk's monographs are ignored and are not even mentioned in the catchall bibliography.

GORDON McNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

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SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

C. J. Bishko¹

EL KRAUSISMO ESPAÑOL: PERFIL DE UNA AVENTURA INTELECTUAL. By Juan López Morillas. (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 218). During the period of his active teaching, from 1854 until his death in 1869, Professor Julián Sanz del Río elaborated his own free adaptation of the philosophy of Karl C. F. Krause, a philosophy whose distinguishing concepts of "harmonious rationalism" and "panentheism" had been embodied originally in the latter's *Urbild der Menschheit* (1811). The present volume discusses the spiritual apprenticeship in Germany of the young Spanish scholar, the original doctrines of Krause, their transmutation by Sanz del Río in his *Ideal de la humanidad para la vida* (1860), and the impact of Krausism on Spanish thought, literature, and politics. It deals also with the relation of Krausism to other philosophical currents in mid-nineteenth-century Spain: traditionalism, neo-Catholicism, liberal Catholicism, and positivism. The author points up the important nuances of Krausism: Germanophilia and Galophobia, rationalist structure clothed in religious vocabulary, immense optimism about the future of humanity coupled with great uncertainty as to the timing and means by which the Utopian age shall arrive. The subject matter covered is much the same as that of the Abbé Pierre Jobit's more detailed study, *Les éducateurs de l'Espagne moderne*. Lopez' book could serve both as an excellent introduction and as a supplement to the older work: introductory because of its clear, concise treatment; supplementary for its different emphases, important among which are the fuller discussion of German philosophical vocabulary, the account of the spiritual crisis of Catholicism in the 1860's (the period of the Syllabus of Errors, of Montalembert's liberal Catholicism, and of the Dogma of Infallibility), and the perceptive, gently ironic comments on the personalities of Sanz del Río and his immediate disciples. Despite the great virtues of Lopez' work, this reader is disappointed that his definition of the subject largely prevented his treating what he himself considered the more significant facets of Krausism. In his prologue, Lopez states: "Let us frankly confess that what attracts us is not so much the analysis of a philosophical system as the characterization of a cultural modality." Yet he limits himself to the years 1854-1874 because they bound the period in which Krausism enjoyed its "maximum favor" as a system. The evidence of his own book indicates that even in that twenty-year period the force of Krausism did not lie in its philosophic doctrines; its ramifications as a "cultural modality" in Spanish thought, education, and politics were far more extensive after 1874 than before that date. Thus the most significant historic results of the movement are by definition excluded from this study.

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THE LOW COUNTRIES¹

OM DE PLAATS VAN DE ARBEID. By *Fr. de Jong Edz.* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers for the Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigen. 1956. Pp. xix, 391.) In this well-written, elaborate book, Fr. de Jong Edz has reviewed fifty years of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigen). Though he wrote this commemorative work upon the request of the board of the NVV, he nevertheless had complete freedom in his task. An introductory sketch of the last half of the nineteenth century makes it clear that trade-unionism in the Netherlands started slowly. This can be explained by the fact that capitalism in Holland developed rather late. Moreover, the predominantly agricultural society of the Netherlands was not conducive to organization of the workers. Until 1900, practically all

¹ The list of articles on the Low Countries will be resumed in the July, 1957, *Review*, when Professor Gordon Griffiths of Lawrence College will become the section editor in place of William C. Kinsey, who has entered the Foreign Service.

measures for the improvement of living conditions were instigated not by the workers themselves but by liberal elements of the upper class. The formation and growth of a socialist party in the Netherlands contributed to the development of trade-unionism. In contrast to several previous workers organizations, the NVV, founded in 1905, adhered to the principle of class struggle, at least in the beginning. One of the main aspects of de Jong's book, however, is the description of trade-union development away from class struggle toward responsibility for the nation as a whole, a development which became very evident soon after the end of World War I. Revolution, though attempted by certain elements in 1918, proved to be impossible because the workers organization was already incorporated in the society as a whole. The different classes were no longer separate units but were being integrated. From this time, the trade-union movement tried to change society from within, in an evolutionary way. It is in this period that the socialistic NVV becomes clearly different from smaller revolutionary groups on the one hand and the less progressive, denominational workers organizations on the other. Between the two world wars, the NVV succeeded in securing many political and material benefits for the workers, among them, general suffrage, an eight-hour working day, annual vacations, and old age pensions. In short, the NVV was working determinedly in the direction of a welfare state. This trend abruptly ended when Holland was attacked in 1940. During the occupation, the well-trained leaders of the trade-union movement, working underground, showed a wise restraint and resorted to strikes only when this could play an important role in the struggle for liberation. The best example was the sudden and complete railroad strike in September, 1944, when the Allied troops made their attack on Arnhem. During the restoration period, starting in 1945, the workers movement was constructive. Strikes generally were avoided, employers and workers reached agreement on wages and prices, and practically all groups in the society accepted responsibility for the general welfare. De Jong Edz has given a well-balanced account of the development of the NVV, and his book is a case history of the integration of a workers movement into the society of a nation where the different classes have learned to cooperate in a responsible way.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

*Oscar J. Falnes*¹

STRIDEN OM OKKUPASJONSSTYRET I NORGE FRAM TIL 25. SEPTEMBER 1940. By *Magne Skodvin*. (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget. 1956. Pp. 416.) This is an exhaustive study of the conflict among the Nazis concerning the government to be established in occupied Norway. It covers the period from the invasion on April 9, 1940, to September 25, when the thoroughly Nazi government was established which was to continue with little change to the end of the occupation. Scarcely an intimation of these events reached the Norwegian people, but they were given time to recover from the paralyzing shock of the invasion and to consolidate an irrepressible resistance movement. The book is a penetrating study of a maze of intrigue and conflicting purposes, of bitter personal rivalries and ambitions, involving innumerable persons ranging from the inner circle of high officials to naïve dilettantes, often pulling wires at cross-purposes behind the scenes. The story is all the more important because no doubt similar discord prevailed with regard to the many larger problems that faced the Nazis. Basic was the rivalry between the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) under Ribbentrop and the Office of Foreign Politics (*Aussenpolitisches Amt*)

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

headed by Alfred Rosenberg. The latter had, even from 1933, been working to draw the Scandinavian countries into the Pan-Germanic orb, culturally, economically, and finally politically. Although Rosenberg did his best, Quisling was out of the picture in the final directive—Hitler's *Befehl*—for the invasion and occupation, which was planned by the military. Little attention was paid to anything but the military problems, other matters being expected to take shape easily. The German minister in Oslo, Curt Bräuer, was to take control of civil affairs—responsible to the Foreign Office—and was ordered to obtain the cooperation of the king in establishing a government which would have the confidence of both Norwegians and Germans. Bräuer failed and, in the confusion, on the evening of April 9, Quisling broadcast a declaration that as prime minister he had assumed control of the government. In a torrent of words, Hitler ordered Bräuer to again seek an audience with the king and insist on his acceptance of Quisling. Bräuer failed again, as he expected, but succeeded in getting an Administrative Council appointed by the Supreme Court, which began its work on April 15. This body refused to have anything to do with Quisling, who had to content himself with the leadership of the party, as his elaborately planned "government" was discarded. The council also refused to assume any governmental duties. Bräuer allowed the impression to be made in Berlin that the plan for a cooperative government was on the way to be realized. When Hitler discovered the truth he became furious and Bräuer fell. On April 26, Hitler announced that he was sending Josef Terboven to Norway as Reich Commissar with extraordinary power and directly responsible to him alone. Thoroughly familiar with the rivalries and wirepulling in Berlin, Terboven managed to hold his own without seriously offending men like Ribbentrop or Himmler, who wanted a say without having the slightest interest in Norway. But he did not dare to disregard Quisling though he considered him *dumm* and unfit for administrative responsibility. The plan was still to establish a government of Norwegians loyal to the Nazis, of which the Quisling party was gradually to assume full control. Quisling tried to hasten that day, Terboven to put it off. Terboven had even less chance of success than Bräuer. He had no understanding of or sympathy for the Norwegians. On September 25, Terboven dismissed the Administrative Council and established a government of regional commissars responsible to him alone, and when the whole Supreme Court resigned on December 23, the last vestige of a legal Norwegian central government was gone. The reader is given a vivid insight into the character of the Nazi government and of the many men who had a part either in the open or backstage in this drama. Particularly interesting is the analysis of the character of Norway's archtraitor, Vidkun Quisling.

KAREN LARSEN, *St. Olaf College*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

DIPLOMATISCHE GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN REICHS VON 1871-1918.

Buch I, VON RUSSISCHER FREUNDSCHAFT ZU RUSSISCHEM GROLL (1871-1878). By *Friedrich Haselmayr*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruchmann. 1955. Pp. 188. DM 11.80.) Friedrich Haselmayr has undertaken a considerable work in writing a diplomatic history of the Second Reich even though the study is intended primarily for German consumption and is pitched to the nonscholarly but informed public. The author indicates that Germany, unlike other great powers, lacks a comprehensive diplomatic history of modern times and suggests that the present work will partially fill that need. While not intended for the scholarly world, the book cannot be called "popular." It is the fruit of some twenty years' research and shows familiarity with archival materials as well as published source collections. This first book of a multi-volume study briefly touches the historical imperatives which produced "Bismarck's Empire," and then details the first seven years of Imperial diplomacy. It reveals nothing new concerning the Iron Chancellor and paints the usual picture of Bismarckian dominance over Europe. Although the author sketches Germany's role in world diplomacy, his main theme reflects the crucial issues of a resurgent France and a dangerously opposed Austria and Russia. This story is carried in detail from the negotiations ending the Franco-Prussian struggle to the collapse of Russo-German relations in the Berlin Congress of 1878. The author is careful to limn salient personalities and outlines Imperial administrative and military organization and comments on the political, social, and economic scene. The content is uniformly sound, although the documentation is sketchy and there is no systematic bibliography. The work exhibits no great originality but should be eminently useful as a reference. One basic criticism should be made. Even accepting the author's stated aims, the organization of his material is defective. There is a mechanical quality to the exposition which breaks the context and presents problems as fragmented entities. The work becomes a series of topics only tenuously connected in the text, finding a fractured unity in chronology and the implied historicism of the introduction. Further, while Haselmayr obviously realizes that diplomatic history requires more than retailing foreign office esoterica, he never really explains the causal relationships between domestic and foreign problems. Perhaps this book will, as the author hopes, provide a basis for understanding contemporary foreign policy, but certainly a more thoroughly integrated study would have provided a better "statesman's handbook."

R. E. McGREW, *University of Missouri*

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Ludwig Zimmermann*. [Erlanger Forschungen, Reihe A: Geisteswissenschaften, Band 6.] (Erlangen, Germany: Universitäts-Bibliothek. 1956. Pp. 68. DM 5.) This slender paper-bound volume contains two lectures of a distinctly revisionist character. The thirty-eight page "Das Stresemannbild in der Wandlung," the more thorough and scholarly of the two, goes beyond a survey of the newest literature concerning the transitional figure of Stresemann to offer an interpretation less adulatory than the "good European" brand of biography but more positive than H. W. Gatzke's *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany* (Baltimore, 1954). The brief, twenty-page "Die Locarno-verträge als Versuch einer Lösung der Sicherheitsfrage" is exclusively interpretive, although a number of new German books and articles on Locarno are cited. These two studies have in common the laudable desire to have done with the legends and

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

shibboleths associated with Stresemann and Locarno erected by wishful thinkers and friends of a Germany-that-never-existed. The author is a German nationalist, though a moderate one, and a conservative. Zimmermann argues that a disservice must be done to Stresemann and Germany's *Verständigungspolitik* of the twenties to make that typical National Liberal out as a "European statesman." "The Spirit of Locarno" was regionalism or it was nothing. Stresemann's limitations were precisely those of a western-type parliamentarian; Locarno must be understood as a German calculated risk on the way back to great power status necessitated by the Anglo-French power constellation of which the League was only an expression. The author's logic has a certain appeal in the consistency it discovers both in Stresemann and in German foreign policy in the twenties. Stresemann's "Machiavellian" letter of 1925 to the German crown prince is only inconsistent with the legendary saintly European; it is in keeping with Stresemann's own image of the peace-loving Bismarck. Only the erection of a false dichotomy of western orientation versus eastern orientation in German foreign policy leads to the conclusion that Locarno "failed" because it was not followed by an "eastern Locarno." Aside from the occasionally muddy phraseology scarcely in keeping with the author's ideals of clarity (e.g., *Verdienste um Volk und Vaterland, Lebensrechte der Völker*), the two studies have an inconsistency of their own. Zimmermann would have us conclude that both Stresemann and Locarno *as they really were* (not as we wish them to have been) were European civilization's best bet. Yet he argues that Stresemann was merely a successful man-in-between who could not control the forces with which he dealt and that Locarno was only a *Rückversicherungsvertrag* from which too much was expected. Thus it is a "tragedy" that France and England did not permit victory to go to a German nationalist who saw that only astute bargaining in a position of weakness could restore Germany to a *Machtstellung*. Locarno was a step toward the solution of the security question *because* it enabled Germany to turn eastward in search of territorial revision! Carefully used, these studies should be of assistance to American scholars, but they bear witness to the difficulties that still surround international scholarly exchanges in contemporary history.

ROBERT KOEHL, *University of Nebraska*

DER RUNDFUNK IM POLITISCHEN KRÄFTESPIEL DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK, 1923-1933. By *Hans Bausch*. [Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 6.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1956. Pp. viii, 224. DM 14.50.) Unlike the newspaper press, radio broadcasting in most countries has been a state monopoly since its inception. Frankly employed in authoritarian states to guide public opinion, state control in democratic nations has been based on the theory that public rather than private interests should govern the aims and content of broadcasting. Where the democratic order has been strong and firmly rooted, state control has proven to be no threat to a pluralistic society, but elsewhere governments have used the radio to influence public opinion. This was the case in the last years of the Weimar Republic. Bausch's volume is the second in recent months to examine radio's role in the political struggle which ended with the destruction of the Republic. By and large, Bausch covers the same ground and arrives at the same conclusions as Pohle's study, *Der Rundfunk als Instrument der Politik* (*AHR*, LXII [October, 1956], 134-35). Because the public and its responsible leaders were indifferent to or ignorant of the political potentialities of radio, the government bureaucracy was permitted to monopolize broadcasting. In 1932, foes of the Republic within the government easily overcame the feeble resistance of the "nonpolitical" bureaucrats and transformed the German broadcasting system into a political arm of the state. The "reforms" of the

Papen government created the instrument which Goebbels a few months later was to find at his disposal. Bausch's study supplements rather than complements that of Pohle. While the latter is an extensive treatment of the subject, the former is an intensive analysis based primarily on governmental documents not utilized by Pohle. Pohle's broader treatment, his familiarity with much of the contemporary literature in the field of mass communications, his superior style and organization, as well as his more profound analysis make his work the more useful of the two studies. The student who wishes to probe deeper into the problem would do well, however, to read the Bausch volume for the supporting data it provides.

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

GIOVANNI BERCHE: LETTERE ALLA MARCHESA COSTANZA ARCONATI. Volume I, FEBBRAIO 1822-LUGLIO 1833. Edited by *Robert van Nuffel*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca Scientifica, Serie II: Fonti, Volume XXXVII.] (Rome: Vittoriano. 1956. Pp. xxxi, 287.) Though Berchet figures as only a lesser light of Italian romanticism, his letters are a most important source for the obscure activities of his fellow refugees. His patrons, the Arconati, had been involved with him in the plots of Confalonieri, but they were more fortunate than most conspirators in owning property abroad and more generous than many liberal sympathizers in offering help and hospitality to their destitute compatriots. After spending seven years as a translator in a London bank and producing in that time the works that won him the name of "Lombard Tyrtæus," Berchet was taken into the Arconati household as tutor, and he spent the rest of his life as an intimate of the family. The bulk of these letters pertain, therefore, to the London years (1822-1829), when Costanza Arconati was his closest confidante and the recipient of some of the most incisive judgments available on many exiles then enjoying sanctuary in England.

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¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

MAZZINI: A STUDY OF HIS THOUGHT AND ITS EFFECT ON 19th CENTURY POLITICAL THEORY. By *Gaetano Salvemini*. Translated from the Italian by *I. M. Rawson*. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956. Pp. 192. 18s.) This book first appeared in Italian in 1905. For this English edition, Professor Salvemini has made a few alterations in the text and has inserted some additional material.

ITALY AND THE ALLIES. By *Norman Kogan*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. viii, 246. \$4.25.) This is an excellent brief account of the development of post-Fascist Italy under the impact of British and American military occupation and diplomacy. After an introductory sketch on Fascism, the author traces, in twelve chapters, the principal internal political trends and foreign policy developments. He ends with the establishment of the republic and Italy's new international position under the peace treaty, in relation to the postwar balance of power. Chapter xiv presents the author's conclusions or judgments and some tentative forecasts. The book is well written and well thought out and is to be highly commended as the first comprehensive account in English of this most complicated subject. The brief period of four or five years comprises so many movements and crises that it has already brought forth a voluminous Italian literature, which the author has mastered. But the story is two- or three-sided, and while some responses of Italian leaders to American and British policies as they understood them are clearly indicated in Italian materials, to date we know of these policies in broad outline only. We know of the existence of many letters, communications, and documents whose texts are not yet available. The general picture has emerged but with many shadowy areas. A candid recognition of the gaps in our knowledge would be more appropriate at this stage than the author's invitation "to accept my veracity as to events or policies for which the usual scholarly documentation cannot be offered in support" (p. vii). The scope of the work is large. The subject matter of any one of the chapters might easily merit a monograph in itself, and some distortions arise from condensation. The brief paragraph (pp. 134-35) dealing with the occupation of Trieste after the German surrender is inaccurate and quite unfair to the British. When the reader turns to the accompanying map (p. 139), he may wonder who Morgan is and what his line illustrates. Dr. Kogan has not hesitated to express his value judgments, not only in his concluding chapter but often intertwined with the narrative. With many of these views the reviewer would concur, but he would sharply dissent on others.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH, *Historical Division, Department of State*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley

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SOVIET UNION

Fritz T. Epstein¹

IL MOTO DECABRISTA E I FRATELLI POGGIO. By *Franco Venturi*. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1956. Pp. 172. L. 1,000.) In this thoughtful little volume, Professor Venturi goes back from the revolutionary movements he covered so thoroughly a few years ago in *Il populismo russo* to the men of the 1820's. The story of the Poggio brothers blends into the larger theme of the Dekabristy as a group but does not dominate it. The radical projects of 1820-1825 are examined critically, with especial attention to the influence of events in Spain and Italy. In the analysis of Pestel's proposals, as contrasted with Muraviev's, the author shows an awareness of their kinship, not only to the French Committee of Public Safety but also to future emphases on centralization. While the monographic literature has been significantly enlarged in Russia since the standard work in English was written nineteen years ago by Professor Mazour, this study relies essentially on the very considerable body of memoirs already published by 1937. Yet there is a freshness of approach and a personal touch here to which the figure of Alexander Poggio (1798-1873)—for there is little about the elder, less active Joseph—contributes. Of Piedmontese descent but brought up in the closely interrelated Russian aristocracy, officer in the Preobrazhensky Regiment, Alexander Poggio was one of the most impetuous and uncompromising of the idealistic and articulate, if politically inexperienced, elite that made up the secret societies. Condemned to permanent exile in Siberia, he spent over thirty years in that austere land, which he came to love, never losing his native vivacity and passion for gardening. Nothing in this study is better brought out than the determination of Nikolai I to destroy not only the Dekabristy but the memory of what they stood for. Bent on showing the world that their attempt was nothing but regicide, a monstrosity alien to the Russian mentality, he did all he could to conceal their program of serf emancipation and even their fundamental aim of constitutionalism for Russia. Nor was he largely unsuccessful, for constitutionalism was weakened and kept from the forefront of later revolutionary thinking, to be overwhelmed by absolutist concepts that led to totalitarianism.

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SIBERIA AND THE REFORMS OF 1822. By *Marc Raeff*. [University of Washington Publications on Asia sponsored by the Far Eastern and Russian Institute.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 210. \$3.50.) Kliuchevskii characterized the development of the Russian state as a history of colonization. Such a characterization is quite correct with respect to the history of Siberia. For a long time its colonization had been spontaneous, and Siberia was exploited only as a colony having no organic ties with European Russia. Raeff describes the transition period when, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the economic and cultural development of Siberia and its colonization in an organized form began to be a concern of the Russian government. For the realization of these purposes, increased population and large investments were needed, as well as an impetus for raising the intellectual and moral levels of the leading strata. All this Siberia could receive only from European Russia, but not all at once and not on a sufficient scale. Raeff describes the changing social and economic conditions of the Russian and native population of Siberia which instigated the reforms initiated by the outstanding statesman, Speransky. The book presents the transition period with the necessary background, in an interesting form and with excellent documentation. Besides original sources, like the Archives of the

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

State Council and the Complete Collection of Laws, the author refers to monographic literature and articles published in various periodicals in all major European languages. As a general rule, all data are founded on factual material. Only the generalization (without specific chronological comment) concerning the merchant's way of life in Siberia (p. 49) and the assertion about the export of nomads' children for sale into slavery (p. 63) are doubtful. Not documented at all and quite superfluous is the critical comment about Alexander III and Nicholas II (p. 114). This work is a penetrating and valuable contribution to the scarce literature on Siberian history. The author's judgments are based on a thorough study of historical data and an understanding of the social, economic, and political conditions of the period.

GEORGE C. GUINS, *Washington, D. C.*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

TURKEY IN MY TIME. By *Ahmed Emin Yalman*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. x, 294. \$4.00.) This small volume is more than the memoirs of a well-known, though controversial, liberal Turkish journalist. It is an incisive interpretation of recent Turkish history. Mr. Yalman was born in Salonika in 1888, became a journalist in 1907, and received his doctorate at Columbia University in 1914. While students of Turkish affairs will not always agree with the author's views, few can question his statement that: "Usually, coincidence has given me the best seat for important scenes in the Turkish drama." The book contains twenty-three chapters; the first eleven deal with the Ottoman period and the rest cover the Republican era since 1923. Early Turco-American friendship is discussed, and a most valuable section deals with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, first president of Turkey. The author uses an effective device when he states: "I shall give some details of our long conversation which will illustrate more intimately the personality of Mustafa Kemal than volumes of biography" (p. 161). The last six chapters, which deal with the period after 1945, while of use to the general reader, will disappoint the specialist since they gloss over important developments. The author voices his disappointment in the United Nations but pleads for maintenance of world peace through international organization. The chapter which deals with a plot against Yalman's life by reactionary elements, while understandably important to the author himself, is perhaps a little overdone. The seriousness of the alleged "reactionary" threat to Turkey is not supported by sufficient evidence. The growing pains of democratic development are discussed frankly, but causes of current problems are not explained. Despite a realization of the vicissitudes of his times, Yalman concludes on a hopeful note for the prospects of democracy in Turkey. Although not documented, this work can be considered a primary source. Interesting side lights on two world wars and the author's impressions of great men in the international scene are worth noting. Yalman deals with a most eventful period of history and effectively highlights the great happenings of his times as they affect Turkey. The reader will find this a most challenging book, which will help him better understand the problems facing the rising middle class and intellectuals in the transitional stage from an absolutist empire to an increasingly democratic Turkish society.

KERIM M. KEY, *American University*

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy¹

JAPANESE PEOPLE AND POLITICS. By Chitoshi Yanaga. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1956. Pp. ix, 408. \$7.50.) The first five chapters are addressed in the main to the question that has intrigued millions of Americans and other Occidentals ever since December 7, 1941, namely, what makes the Japanese tick? Employing the techniques of the behavioral scientist and drawing freely on such anthropological and historical classics as Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Frank Gibney's *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, and Edwin O. Reischauer's *The United States and Japan*, the author turns the floodlight on the whole of Japanese character and psychology, not

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

focusing on political behavior alone as indicated by three of the chapter titles. The next eight chapters deal with the government and politics of Japan under the 1947 Constitution, with emphasis on the period of independence beginning in 1952. The Allied occupation as such is not examined and MacArthur's name is mentioned but once. The impression is created that the basic constitutional and legal changes wrought in fulfillment of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration have had no appreciable effect on the Japanese political order. Although SCAP's *Political Reorientation of Japan* (1948) was examined, current popular and scholarly newspaper and magazine articles, written in Japanese by Japanese commentators and university professors, supplied most of the material for the author's traditional treatment of the emperor, cabinet, parliament, political parties, elections, and bureaucracy. In this connection, it was perhaps a newspaper pundit who coined the now popular expression that two improvements since World War II are the train service and the treatment of members of parliament (p. 188). In the final three chapters—which sketch the national economy and general welfare, civil rights, and international relations—bilingual and bicultural Dr. Yanaga, who was educated in Hawaii and California, makes good use of his own past research and writings to give a clear and convincing account of present-day Japan's internal and external affairs. Three appendixes contain the Imperial Rescript promulgating the Constitution of Japan, the text of the Constitution, and a list of Japanese prime ministers since 1885. A bibliography, particularly an annotated one, would have added to the value of the book.

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN ASIA

Cecil Hobbs

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

ADVANCE AGENTS OF AMERICAN DESTINY. By Roy F. Nichols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1956. Pp. 254. \$5.00.) This work is a compilation of a number of articles, published over a span of two decades, which chronicle the activities of some of the pioneers on America's maritime frontier. A certain amount of connective tissue has been added but there has been no attempt at general stylistic or structural revision. The core of the book concerns the career of William Shaler, whose unsuccessful trading ventures to the Plate in 1799 and across the Pacific during the Jefferson administration were followed by more than twenty years of government service as agent to revolutionary Mexico and as consul at Algiers and Havana. The six chapters on Shaler are preceded by two on early American efforts to gain trading privileges and consular representation in Cuba. They are followed by three chapters on the guano trade and the guano imperialism which brought about the annexation of our first noncontiguous territory, the island of Navassa, and of Pacific islets of more recent importance, such as Johnston, Howland, and Baker. These somewhat discrete accumulations of data have been assembled on the argument that the participants, as advance agents of American destiny opening the way for statesmen, illustrate fundamental American traits "essential to the continued maintenance of the way of free enterprise" and so deserve rescue from oblivion. It may be agreed that America's maritime pioneers have not received their full share of attention since the course of American historiography was laid down at the Columbian Exposition, but the exploits here described seem not to have been notably productive. The Cuban question was for long unsolved, American destiny in Algiers remains obscure, the relationship between guano and airstrips appears fortuitous. The author's view that of the advance agents the "most important and dynamic . . . were those fired with a zeal for propaganda, men who were missionaries preaching the gospel of the new and enlightened republican way of life" is doubtless correct, but none such come alive in this book. Shaler, it is true, is stated to have been an apostle of "rational liberty," but except for the fact that he carried a Spanish trans-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

lation of the Declaration of Independence to Valparaiso the evidence is slim, while his efforts to promote a European conquest of Algiers are difficult to reconcile with American doctrines of self-determination. The approach of these articles is, in general, narrowly factual and narrative. Since the value of the book is in this detailed information, the absence of footnotes seems regrettable.

JAMES A. FIELD, JR., *Swarthmore College*

THE CRITICAL YEARS: THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1780-1789. By *Clara O. Loveland*. (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press. 1956. Pp. vi, 311. \$3.50.) The American Revolution had important effects on religion as well as on politics, as J. F. Jameson pointed out some years ago. This book is an excellent contribution to our knowledge of the social consequences of the Revolution. Its central theme is the problem of achieving agreement on a form of government for the new Protestant Episcopal Church in the period of the Confederation and the Constitution. There is an interesting parallel to the struggle of the new nation to achieve a satisfactory political structure. The break with England demoralized the Anglican churches in America; no longer could they acknowledge the headship of the English king and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. How would they be governed now? The Rev. William White of Philadelphia proposed a federal plan of union which would give equal representation to laity and clergy. The Rev. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, on the other hand, was convinced that control should be vested in bishops consecrated within the apostolic succession. The essence of Miss Loveland's material is the involved story of the struggle between these conflicting plans of organization and their final resolution through compromise in 1789. The Episcopal Church, like the nation itself, established a bicameral assembly, including a House of Bishops and a House of Lay and Clerical Deputies. Miss Loveland also gives attention to the difficulties involved in obtaining the consecration of bishops in England and Scotland and to the controversies over revision of the Prayer Book. Her work originated as a doctoral dissertation in religion at Duke University, directed by Professor H. Shelton Smith and accepted in 1953. Well documented from careful research in primary sources, it is a model of monographic scholarship.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

WILDERNESS FOR SALE: THE STORY OF THE FIRST WESTERN LAND RUSH. By *Walter Havighurst*. [American Procession Series.] (New York: Hastings House. 1956. Pp. xii, 372. \$4.50.) Intended for the lay reader, this colorful story is a compound of biography and historical events related to the settlement and development of the Old Northwest from about 1780 to the death of William Henry Harrison. The narrative has more or less territorial coverage of Kentucky and of Ohio from Marietta and Wheeling, northwest to Sandusky, and westward to and including some of the Illinois country. Two main threads loosely unite the story: William Henry Harrison, who rightfully appears in the early Indian wars, and the insatiable appetite of the frontiersman and the speculator for cheap land. Out of the welter of land-hungry frontiersmen, wild speculation, intrigue, Indian wars, and treaty making emerged the great states of Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. *Wilderness for Sale* is divided into five parts and eighteen chapters with attractive titles. The story opens with a description of "the wild Ohio country, stretching from Fort Pitt to the Illinois prairies and from the curving O-hy-o to the English Seas (today we call them the Great Lakes)." The author evidently did not intend to write another *The Old Northwest* as written by B. A. Hinsdale or F. A. Ogg. *Wilder-*

ness for Sale is more like Henderson's *The Conquest of the Old Southwest*, but more anecdotal. There are no footnotes. An abridged bibliography of three pages includes works by Carter, Buck, Bond, Buley, Downes, Esary, Turner, Ogg, Roosevelt, Thwaites, and Winsor, but omits the works of Louise P. Kellogg; Williams, *The American Pioneer*; Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest*; Smith, *The St. Clair Papers*; Bliss, *Diary of David Zeisberger*, and other significant books. There is an adequate index. Much has been written on the Old Northwest, and there is yet much original material to be exploited. In *Wilderness for Sale* the author has admirably succeeded in his aim—to present a vivid and stimulating story of the Ohio country.

WILLIAM E. SMITH, *Miami University*

THE NATION'S ADVOCATE: HENRY MARIE BRACKENRIDGE AND YOUNG AMERICA. By *William F. Keller*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1956. Pp. x, 451. \$5.00.) This is a thorough, though overextended biography of a wanderer, early American writer, and sometime lawyer and politician. Born in Pittsburgh in 1786, where he died in 1871, Henry Marie Brackenridge saw more of the United States than most men of his era. Sent as a child of seven to visit French Ste. Genevieve on the Mississippi, he later practiced law or sought clients in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, and Baltimore. He traveled far up the Missouri River with an expedition led by the fur-trade magnate Manuel Lisa (1811), journeyed to South America with a commission sent to observe the independence movement there (1817-1818), and, after a lucky meeting on the Mississippi, went with Andrew Jackson to the newly acquired Florida Territory (1821). There he spent a decade as *alcalde* of Pensacola and Territorial judge. The child of young America, he knew its face, topography, and people, and he was an early exponent of a peculiarly American national spirit. Much of what Brackenridge saw he described in books, pamphlets, and essays. His reputation rests on his early volume describing the Louisiana Territory, his considerable history of the War of 1812, a book of personal recollections, and his history of the Whisky Insurrection of 1794. In the last, he defended the efforts of his father, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, author of the frontier *Don Quixote* called *Modern Chivalry*, to mediate that conflict. His writings brought young Brackenridge favorably to the attention of Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay and led Thomas Hart Benton to enlist him in Missouri's struggle for statehood. After 1832, when Jackson failed to reappoint him to a judgeship, his polemics against Old Hickory entered into the mainstream of anti-Jackson historiography, partly through James Parton. Unfortunately, this first biography of Brackenridge misses the promise of its title. Though Dr. Keller's style is clear, it is too often lifeless or prolix. Though the book shows extensive research in primary sources, it too often falls into the morass of unnecessary detail or lavishes attention on tangential matters at the expense of adequate analysis, for example, of the writings which were Brackenridge's strength. The result is a volume frequently superficial in treating important matters. Nevertheless, it is patently "sound" and will have a place in the gallery of early American portraits.

WILLIAM NISBET CHAMBERS, *Washington University*

MR. VESSEY OF ENGLAND: BEING THE INCIDENTS AND REMINISCENCES OF TRAVEL IN A TWELVE WEEKS' TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA IN THE YEAR 1859. By *John Henry Vessey*. Edited by *Brian Waters*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1956. Pp. 184. \$2.95.) In 1859, Mr. Vessey, heir to Halton Holgate manor in Lincolnshire, visited America, carrying with him a carefully planned travel program and a morocco bound notebook. For

eleven thousand miles he religiously adhered to his schedule and dutifully recorded his experiences. The result reveals as much about his society as it does of the one he visited. As a Tory and devotee of a well-regulated community, the equalitarianism of American life offended him, American social customs affronted him, and American "brag" annoyed him. No admirer of American character, he discovered Yankees to be an aggressive people, rough, conceited, and self-reliant with the "greatest love for their own country I ever met with, even more than the Scotch." In all this, Mr. Vessey hardly differs from the scores of travelers who visited North America during these years. But he was also a farmer who viewed agriculture with a keen and experienced eye. His descriptions of crops, soils, and farming methods are unusually good. In all other respects, Mr. Vessey's account will take its place on that long shelf marked "good old English traveler," to be used by those seeking a sharp phrase or a suitable quotation to describe American life on the eve of the Civil War.

PAUL SHARP, *University of Wisconsin*

DIE FRONTIERTHEORIE VON FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, 1861-1932. By *Roland H. Beck*. [Wirtschaft Gesellschaft Staat, Zürcher Studien zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, Number 14.] (Zürich: Europa Verlag. 1955. Pp. 111.) This investigation was made in an effort to understand the American and to determine the degree of acceptance of the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner by American historians. The twelve chapters are grouped under four headings: "The Historian of the Frontier and his Time," "The Frontier Theory," "The Intellectual Bases of the Frontier Theory," and "The Factual Evaluation of the Frontier Theory." The book closes with the author's conclusion. The bibliography, other than listing the principal writings of Turner, is essentially an inclusive listing of the evaluations, pro and con, of the Turner thesis by American historians. Readily accepting the idea of "Sections and Nation," Dr. Beck also credits Turner with original contributions in his incorporation of the "Nature" element into American historiography, in his use of new methods of research through extensive use of United States Census reports and statistical and map materials, and in his application of the anthropogeography of Ratzel to frontier history. The author finds the critics more convincing than Turner and the other historians who give credence to the frontier thesis. He concludes that the thesis is a romantic interpretation of American history that relies on the mysterious working of the mystical powers of the American natural environment and the premise of social evolution extracted from an admixture of Darwinian and Spencerian ideologies. He sees the Turner pioneer concept as a blend of Rousseauian "edlen Wilden" and "Byronschen Held." Doubting that the frontier thesis has any place in scientific treatises, he would confine any application of it to the years 1765-1830, which he calls the period of the "forest frontier." Conceivably, if the author had done research in the history of the American frontier, he would have had a more adequate basis for a conclusion. As he moves toward a rejection of the frontier thesis as sound history and as an explanation of the American, he is apparently unaware of Turner's emphasis on the multiple hypothesis: "I have no philosophy of history except that there is no single key to it."

ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, *Ball State Teachers College*

LINCOLN'S SUPREME COURT. By *David M. Silver*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume 38.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 272. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.00.) This is an interesting and well-written study of the Supreme Court during the Civil War. Primary emphasis is upon the complex political currents that swirled around the justices, rather than upon the technical constitutional issues

of the hour. There is an able account of the presidential policies involved in the appointment of Swayne, Miller, Davis, Field, and Chase. There is also a careful analysis of the act of March, 1863, increasing the number of justices to ten, in which the author demonstrates conclusively that the law was in fact a "court-packing bill" although its purpose admittedly was "to save the Constitution and to save the Union." On the whole, the author pursues a kind of cautious neutrality in the conflict between Lincoln and the Taney Court over the constitutionality of the wartime presidential "dictatorship." He recognizes the overwhelming military necessity which led Lincoln to executive suspension of habeas corpus, arbitrary military arrests, and the trial of civilians by military tribunals, yet views with undisguised sympathy the Court's interest in the maintenance of constitutional government. He devotes an entire chapter to the contention that Taney's position in the argument was correct, if "indiscreet," and that the Court's "unanimous" opinion in *ex parte Milligan* constituted a complete vindication of the late Chief Justice, a conclusion this reviewer believes to be of very doubtful validity. The book suffers somewhat, also, from a certain failure of precision and accuracy in the more technical aspects of public law. Thus, the statement that Lincoln's blockade proclamation of April 19, 1861, "was an acknowledgment that war existed between two sovereign powers," confuses recognition of the existence of a state of public war and the implied acceptance of Confederate belligerency with the recognition of Confederate independence. In spite of difficulties of this kind, the book constitutes a worth-while addition to the bibliography of Civil War politics.

ALFRED H. KELLY, *Wayne State University*

GRAY GHOSTS AND REBEL RAIDERS. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. With an Introduction by *Bruce Catton*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. xiv, 431. \$4.50.) Like the generals who fought in the Civil War, students tend to think of it as a series of formal engagements between organized bodies of troops and to consider any other kind of fighting as either not quite cricket or at best inconsequential. Virgil C. Jones demonstrates here the shallowness of such thinking. He describes and analyzes the activities of mounted irregular troopers, variously known as rangers, partisans, or guerrillas, under such Confederate leaders as John S. Mosby, Harry Gilmore, and John H. and Jesse McNeill. They played a murderous game of hide-and-seek with Union forces campaigning in the mountains of West Virginia, the Shenandoah Valley, the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the Piedmont of northern Virginia. As Union armies penetrated deeper into Virginia, increasing numbers of soldiers had to guard communications, whether railroads or wagon trains, against the constant menace of partisan bands. Guerrilla raids helped to upset Grant's timetable in his offensive against Lee's army and thus prolonged the war. Judging by the evidence presented in this book, General Mosby exaggerated very little when he estimated that his force of several hundred rangers alone "kept 30,000 of Sheridan's 94,026 Middle Military Division effectives tied up along the outposts and away from the battle front during the Valley campaign." The author's fair-minded treatment of a difficult subject (for guerrilla fighting became very dirty business), his ability to write good narrative, and his painstaking research have produced a book which offers fresh insights into the military history of the Civil War.

EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

THE SOUTHERN CLAIMS COMMISSION. By *Frank W. Klingberg*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume L.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 262. \$3.50.) The modest title of this volume does not reveal the

full significance of the author's labors, in painstaking search for and use of records that piled up in the several governmental departments and agencies concerned and other material that has survived. Klingberg deftly threads his way through this labyrinth, but the trail he leaves is not always adequately clear. Whether, as the author thinks, the records constitute a veritable "Middletown survey of the Confederacy" is perhaps immaterial. Obscured in spots by the routine of administrative and legislative detail concerning the commission, the real story is "the record of Southern Unionism," from its foundations in the ante bellum socio-economic cleavages—usually rooted in a complex internal sectionalism—and in the rigidity of the alignment between Whig and Democrat, with die-hard Whig planters unwilling to join Democratic "fire-eaters" in efforts to achieve a Southern nationalism outside of the Union. In a bitter civil war, these stubborn or valiant few awaited the hour of "deliverance" by victorious Union armies; they would doubtless have preferred to see their section make early terms with the federal government and return to its place in the Union. President Lincoln was well aware of this element in the South, and both he and Congress were prepared to accord a special consideration to the property rights of those who could prove that they had "never given any comfort to the present rebellion." But victorious armies found difficulties in fulfilling such expectations, and such indemnity as had been promised was largely suspended during Radical reconstruction. From 1863, the Court of Claims had functioned in this area in a desultory way, delaying justice even in worthy cases. Many a Southern claimant had reached the point of despair when, on March 3, 1871, Congress provided for three commissioners to evaluate the claims of "the loyal citizens in States once in Rebellion." The commissioners appointed were of the Radical persuasion, yet they labored diligently for nine years to mete out "substantial" justice to claimants. They prescribed a loyalty test which demanded a record of a life of treason to the Confederacy. Over three fourths of the 22,298 claims filed by Southerners were prosecuted to conclusion, with 41 per cent allowed by the Commission. Over 3 per cent pressed claims of \$10,000 or more, totaling \$22,582,422.83. But the human-interest story cannot be told in figures—not even in belated restitutions to worthy Unionists. It is found in all its poignant details in the humiliations, risks, and sacrifices that fell to the lot of those who persisted in a loyalty that found little appreciation even among Northern politicians, who for decades exploited this as well as other phases of the "Lost Cause." No wonder that in despair many Unionists eventually found themselves forced into associations which they had previously scorned, contributing to a "Solid South" not of their own choosing. One must agree with the author's conclusion: "In the vast mass records of the Southern Claims Commission were preserved the stories of the Unionist's courage and betrayal."

ARTHUR C. COLE, *Brooklyn College*

NORTHERN METHODISM AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Ralph E. Morrow*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 269. \$5.00.) Mr. Morrow discusses the efforts of the Methodist Episcopal Church to replace the M. E. Church South with a reunited Church under Northern domination, and, at the same time, by missionary work to instruct and uplift the freedmen through schools and churches, and even break the barriers of segregation. In their efforts, the Methodists became identified with the Radical Republican group because their program depended upon the success of the Congressional plan of reconstruction. In general, the Northern Methodists failed in all their major objectives. The intrusion of missionaries into the South to take over church properties and buildings was resented. There could be no cooperation without acceptance of the Southern Church as a legitimate and equal

branch of American Episcopal Methodism; social and business pressures and fidelity to tradition in the South were too great for Northern Methodism to replace the M. E. Church South. The economic and social background of the Negroes was unfavorable to integration of the freedmen, and they formed their own African Church organizations. Only in the great political influence of the bishops with the Grant administration did the Northern Church show marked success. Morrow has largely written an indictment of the Northern Church. He condemns it for assuming that with slavery ended and the South broken there were grounds for a reunited Church. Unfortunately, some activities of the Church were but a mirror of the times, but Morrow does not place them in this setting. The regrettable errors committed by some of the missionaries in the South came in an era of corruption and moral collapse everywhere. The undue emphasis on selfish and evil motives which Morrow attributes to the missionaries also overlooks the devoted services of the great majority, who were motivated by a Christian spirit to restore the church to its greatness. One is left with the impression that, except for the schooling of the Negroes, there were no constructive benefits from the efforts of the Northern Church. As Professor Sweet suggests, its overly aggressive activity served as a stimulus to the Southern Methodists in rehabilitating their own ecclesiastical organization. Their first General Conference following the war in 1866 instituted reforms which aided recovery. The Southern Church soon became a vital factor in reorganizing Southern society. So too, it was logical for the freedmen to realize that the solution of their problems was not in the church of their old masters, and so they founded their distinct ecclesiastical organizations, which had an astonishing growth. The Northern contribution to Southern education was actually considerable, e.g., the launching of Vanderbilt University and gifts to Emory University and Wesleyan Female College in Georgia. Morrow makes a case, but it would have been a better balanced one had he not been so determined to paint the picture only in dark colors.

WESLEY M. GEWEHR, *University of Maryland*

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD NETWORK, 1861-1890. By *George Rogers Taylor and Irene D. Neu*. [Studies in Economic History published in cooperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 113. \$3.75.) This small volume discusses a significant, but often neglected, phase of nineteenth-century railroad history—the developing physical integration of American railroads in the generation following the Civil War. The authors emphasize the absence of a unified network by including three maps of the railways of Canada and the United States as of April 1, 1861. In color and clearly showing the variation in gauge in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the South, these maps will be a great boon to any student of American transportation history. In the first five chapters, Professor Taylor carefully reviews many of the reasons for the absence of an integrated railroad system in 1861. Much of the difficulty arose through chance, as the local character of the early lines plus the lack of over-all planning resulted in some variation of gauge in nearly every state. But often the impediments to through traffic were deliberately set up and maintained by local economic interests, as shown by the reluctance of the merchants of Philadelphia to permit a continuous line through their city. The lack of bridges over major streams and the refusal of many railroad managers to permit their rolling stock to be used on foreign roads further hampered the development of a unified network. In the remaining four chapters, Professor Neu describes some aspects of the definite integration which appeared in the next generation. In the decade of the 1860's, the Civil War, the gauge determination for the Pacific Railroad, and the growing grain trade, all worked toward the

creation of a more unified system. The remaining diversity of gauge brought into frequent use such ingenious devices as "compromise" and sliding wheels, car hoists, and "double" gauge tracks. Freight service was considerably speeded up by the widespread acceptance of fast freight lines. With the shift of the Southern lines to standard gauge in mid-1886, the integration was practically complete, permitting the shipment of goods, without break in bulk, from one end of the country to the other. This is an excellent book and the announced objectives are met with a minimum of error. Some might contend that the authors overstress the Northeastern states at the expense of the South and the West, but the American railroads of a century ago followed patterns largely set in the Northeast. An adequate set of notes concludes the volume, but there is no separate bibliography. This fact-filled book will probably become a must for all students embarking upon a study of nineteenth-century American railroads.

JOHN F. STOVER, *Purdue University*

HISTORY OF AMERICAN MERCHANT SEAMEN. By *Elmo Paul Hohman*. (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 125. \$3.50.) A more appropriate title for this slim volume would have been "A History of the American Maritime Labor Movement." In that restricted aspect, it is the first adequate comprehensive account, analyzing the development of unions, the relative effectiveness of strikes, and the terms of legislation and other definitions of labor conditions. It is definitely useful to have such material brought together in orderly and authoritative fashion, and this work clinches the author's position as the leading authority on the subject. There is, however, relatively little of the "feel" of conditions afloat and ashore at various periods. That can better be derived from Hohman's earlier works—*The American Whaleman* (1928) and *Seamen Ashore* (1952), from James C. Healey's *Foc'sle and Glory Hole: A Study of the Merchant Seaman and His Occupation* (1936), or William P. Gottlieb's well-illustrated and "educational" *This Is the NMU: A Picture History of the National Maritime Union of America CIO* (1955). The book is essentially a reprinting of two articles originally contributed to the *International Labour Review*: "Maritime Labor in the United States, 1790-1937" (August and September, 1938) and "Merchant Seamen in the United States, 1937-1952" (January, 1953). An eleven-page section on "Orientation and Background," together with a bibliography and index are the only new contributions. Aside from the remark that "the middle decades of the nineteenth century witnessed at once the highest development of sailing-ship design and operation and the lowest degradation of seagoing labor," there is relatively little before the establishment in 1892 of what became the International Seamen's Union (ISU), "the dominant representative of the unlicensed personnel of the American merchant marine . . . until 1937." The real hero of the story is Andrew Furuseth, the sturdy and persistent Norwegian whose tireless efforts were responsible for the Seamen's Act of 1915, often credited to La Follette. The failure of a strike in 1921, following the World War I boom, gave labor a setback until the New Deal period, when successful strikes on both coasts in the mid-thirties led to marked successes under new unions which succeeded the original ISU—Joseph Curran's National Maritime Union and Harry Lundeberg's Seafarers' International Union and Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Their success has been such that operational subsidies have been necessary to offset the lower pay of foreign merchant marines, where a captain receives scarcely as much as an American ordinary seaman with his overtime. The situation has also led to the growth of the Panamanian and Liberian "flags of convenience."

ROBERT G. ALBION, *Harvard University*

A HALF CENTURY OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS: A LAWYER'S VIEWS.

By *Frederic R. Coudert*. Edited by *Allan Nevins*. With an Introduction by *Philip C. Jessup*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 352. \$4.00.) This is a selection of various writings and public statements by Frederic R. Coudert over roughly a half century. During this period, he was a practicing lawyer in a New York firm with important international connections and took an active interest in public affairs, more particularly in the international problems of an emerging world power. Many of the papers included will be of special interest to American historians and political scientists. Two papers—one, a contribution to the *Columbia Law Review* (January, 1903) and the other, an address before the Academy of Political Science in May, 1902—discuss problems resulting from the acquisition of an empire by the United States. These are of special interest since Coudert argued the consular cases before the Supreme Court. Coudert was a firm believer in international arbitration, as shown by the address he delivered at Carnegie Hall in December, 1911, in support of the arbitration treaties which were negotiated under the Taft administration with France and Great Britain, together with correspondence with Admiral Mahan and John Bassett Moore. A number of papers give expression to Mr. Coudert's impatience with President Wilson's neutrality policy and his firm commitment later to the League of Nations. In fact, even at the time when it was obvious that the League had failed in its major purpose, Coudert was convinced that another effort of a similar nature would have to be made. This collection is a worthy tribute to a man who combined professional devotion to the law with great public spirit and idealism and a broad intellectual grasp of the problems of public policy facing his country. Professor Nevins has provided helpful notes to put the various papers in historical context and Professor Jessup has in his introduction given us a glimpse of Mr. Coudert's rich and varied career, which helps the reader greatly to appreciate the papers that follow.

LELAND M. GOODRICH, *Tufts College*

FAIRHOPE, 1894-1954: THE STORY OF A SINGLE TAX COLONY. By *Paul E.*

and *Blanche R. Alyea*. (University: University of Alabama Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 351. \$4.50.) In the logic of Henry George's writings, a single tax colony is a contradiction in terms, and George himself, though he lived three years after Fairhope was founded, had personally nothing to do with the enterprise. *Progress and Poverty* had called for channeling the high land values of city, mine, and farm to the use of everyone, and the complete logic of that argument requires that the reform be applied on a broad geographical base. To be politically practical, George participated in famous city and state campaigns, but he always conceived of his program—whether in the ("single tax") form of land value taxation, which he preferred, or in some other form—as one to be adopted by nations, and during the middle eighties he had thought that the time would be soon. Fairhope, situated some distance from Mobile, never pretended to be anything other than a small residential community. The colony contained no great economic differences to reconcile, and it waited a long time before the unearned increment of land became sizable. But the fathers of Fairhope became fathers as they were dedicated to the procedures of Georgism. They acquired land, retaining ownership in a corporation; they leased parcels at rates which usually were supposed to bring in the full value of rent; and they disbursed this income, first to pay state and local property taxes, and second, to render benefits to the group. Thus they "simulated" the single tax, and they offered their light to the world. The Alyeas tell the story in solid chronological and topical detail, which is, on the whole, affirmative. Fairhope prospered better than did comparable towns in the vicinity. A community with ideals, it developed excellent parks and a good school and became an interesting

place to live. The authors are possibly too sanguine in thinking that, with today's rising land values, Fairhope may reinvigorate its Georgist tradition; but again, this possibility is not closed to any English-speaking community.

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Johns Hopkins University*

HISTORY OF STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY). Volume II, THE RESURGENT YEARS, 1911-1927. By *George Sweet Gibb* and *Evelyn H. Knowlton*. [Prepared under the auspices of the Business History Foundation.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. xxix, 754. \$7.50.) The title of this volume, *The Resurgent Years*, states clearly its central theme. The sixteen years between 1911 and 1927, one of the least known chapters in the history of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), were the formative ones in the rise of this modern international corporation. It was during this period that Standard's executives concentrated their major efforts upon rebuilding an efficient and integrated company. After summarizing briefly the effects of the 1911 decision dissolving the former "trust," the authors proceed to detail the major developments in SONJ's "middle years." This is in itself an original contribution, for there is no readily available account of the many momentous and far-reaching decisions of this era. Every aspect of the business is analyzed. The search for new supplies of crude oil at home and abroad, scientific and technological innovation in manufacturing, new transportation developments, and the problems of domestic and world-wide markets are all treated with clarity and high competence. Nor are the human problems neglected. Though the authors' purpose is "to record the history of administration and management at the highest company level," labor policy and the reaction of workers to it is not overlooked. This is in every respect a comprehensive business history and a significant contribution to the study of the oil industry in its many complex domestic and international aspects. The emergence of Jersey Standard's foreign policy and the degree to which international petroleum developments have affected domestic practices are just two examples of the many important questions covered. The story of Jersey's expansion abroad after 1912 to assure itself adequate reserves of crude oil, its struggles with overseas competitors for supplies and markets, its negotiations with foreign governments for concessions, and its relationship with the State Department reveal clearly the increasing significance of oil in world economics, politics, and diplomacy. At the same time, Standard's experiences provide the reader with a keen insight into the multiplicity of pressures, private and public, which helped determine policies and shaped developments affecting the industry, the economy, and American society generally. In discussing the many problems of wide import which pressed upon Standard's management during these years, the authors have ably synthesized a huge mass of evidence and have set forth their conclusions clearly—often forcefully. Though they are impressed with management's accomplishments, they are equally aware of its failures. Both are explained in terms of the times and the circumstances. Regardless of personal predilections, every student of twentieth-century American history will profit by reading this informative study.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

WOODROW WILSON. By *John A. Garraty*. [Great Lives in Brief.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. 206, vi. \$2.50.) This unpretentious short study is a critical and scholarly interpretation of the career and personality of Woodrow Wilson. Although the book contains no footnotes, it seems to be based upon all of the many published scholarly works covering the various parts of the President's career and upon the author's previous research done for his *Henry Cabot Lodge*. Apparently, the book leans heavily upon Link for Wilson's earlier years and upon Bailey for the period of

the peace conference and the fight with the Senate. The volume contains few if any new facts about Wilson's life, but the author has contributed a number of novel, and therefore perhaps debatable, interpretations for the latter phases of the President's career. Following Link, Garraty is critical of Wilson's Latin-American "missionary diplomacy," as well as of the wavering policy of not quite neutrality previous to 1917. He believes that a policy of either definite support for the Allies or stricter neutrality would have been better for the nation. The author praises Wilson's peacemaking strategy during the war but is highly critical of Wilson's decision to go to Paris. Garraty explains Wilson's minor setbacks at Paris and his subsequent major defeat at home as arising from three forces: the President's feelings of guilt for entering the war, guilt which could only be expiated by his personal achievement of a warless world; personal characteristics which the President always had within him and which tended to destroy him as an effective politician; and his sickness at Paris and the subsequent stroke which rendered him "incompetent to perform the duties of his office." The three added up to stark tragedy. Had Wilson died of the stroke, the author concludes, the Senate would probably have ratified the treaty with minor reservations, the United States would have entered the League, and the results would have been far happier for the nation. The book is very well written and Mr. Garraty is to be congratulated for such a graceful and effective summing up of a great career.

GEORGE E. MOWRY, *University of California, Los Angeles*

WOODROW WILSON AND THE POLITICS OF MORALITY. By *John Morton Blum*. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown. 1956. Pp. vi, 215. \$3.50.) In this day, when it seems increasingly difficult for the administration to follow a course in foreign relations that is both practical and moral, a study of Woodrow Wilson and morality is timely. This book is a review of Wilson's career, with emphasis on his disposition to measure every act by his standards of right and wrong. The author emphasizes the point that, with his Scotch Presbyterian background, Wilson was born to morality and that in youth he sought to find the rules for good conduct in all relations. Moral concepts impelled him to work for changes at Princeton University; to Trenton and to Washington he brought with him the practice of being guided by moral values; and once he had decided that a given course was the moral one, he was unyielding. He suffered his great defeat because he could not be moved to agree to a modification of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. Notwithstanding his disposition to stand steadfastly by his decisions, Wilson was adept at reaching right conclusions on the issues of his time and in modifying his position accordingly. The author might have given more emphasis to the fact that Wilson was an apt pupil and often changed after he learned more about a situation. Although a select bibliography is included, the book is a relatively brief, interpretative biography, without citation of authorities. Several conclusions will be challenged, such as, that Wilson had no sense of humor and was "without a sense of playfulness in men" (p. 111); that as President he nullified "liberal legislation by conservative administration" (p. 80); and that Mrs. Wilson and Edward M. House kept from the President certain people who might have constituted the "antibiotics his Southernism needed" (p. 115). The study is well conceived and the book well written.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON, *Hardin-Simmons University*

UP-HILL ALL THE WAY: THE LIFE OF MAYNARD SHIPLEY. By *Miriam Allen deFord*. (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press. 1956. Pp. 255. \$4.00.) Conceivably, Maynard Shipley (1872-1934) deserves more attention than he has heretofore received from social and intellectual historians, but Miriam Allen deFord's biography of her

husband fails to convince that he should be rescued from obscurity. Her evidence does not support such sweeping assertions that "intellectually, Maynard was a man of the Renaissance" (p. 124) or "Maynard Shipley is doing for Darwinism in America what Thomas Henry Huxley did for it in England" (p. 209). Moreover, his role in the socialist movement, which the author implies was major, was, in truth, quite minor. Without being condescending, one may concede that had Shipley enjoyed the benefit of a formal education—he never progressed beyond primary school—he might have become a truly distinguished scholar rather than a "popularizer" of science. Undeniably he possessed a challenging mind, a capacity for hard work, and an amazing degree of self-discipline. But as the title of this biography indicates, the story of Shipley's life was one of constant struggle not only for personal dignity but also for simple survival. His encyclopedic learning came almost entirely from efforts which at times bordered on the heroic, yet the products of these efforts were hardly of a lasting nature. Shipley bequeathed to the world little in the way of an intellectual legacy. The writing of biography, even more so than of history, is an act of faith. The author has more than kept faith with her husband. While it is comforting to learn that Shipley had such a human failing as an inordinate fondness for liquor and that at times he could be a "bore," his biography would have been a far better one had it been written in more subdued tones and with less bathos. Here the editors of the Antioch Press might well have placed a gentle but restraining hand on the author. Nor are they to be commended for publishing a book such as this without footnotes, bibliography, or index.

HOWARD H. QUINT, *University of South Carolina*

ROBERT RUSSA MOTON OF HAMPTON AND TUSKEGEE. Edited by *William Hardin Hughes* and *Frederick D. Patterson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 238. \$4.00.) This son of former slaves was born in Amelia county, Virginia, August 26, 1867. His boyhood days on the plantation of "the finest type of Southern families—kind, thoughtful and generous" (p. 15)—probably contributed to his life-long belief in the friendship of Southern whites for Negroes. At Hampton Institute, where he became the first Negro commandant of cadets in 1891, a virtual dean of men and member of the administrative council, his common sense and tact won the approval of Northerners and Southerners who supported the Hampton-Tuskegee emphasis on vocational training. These qualities and his success as a fund-raiser in the North and as a co-worker on Booker T. Washington's Southern good-will tours made "Major" Moton the logical choice as principal of Tuskegee after Washington's death in 1915. Moton followed in Washington's footsteps, but he left his own distinctive imprint. President Wilson commissioned him to investigate unrest among Negro troops in France and Hoover, to head the Commission on Education in Haiti. One of the founders of the Interracial Commission, Moton was less specific on Negro suffrage than Washington had been. He increased Tuskegee's physical plant and endowment fourfold; he introduced a two-year business course and four-year courses leading to B.S. degrees in agriculture and education; he also established a postgraduate course for physicians and surgeons who attended the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital annual clinic. He courageously withstood the dire threats of the Ku Klux Klan, which in 1923 demanded an all-white staff at the Veterans Hospital; and he rebuked General Smuts for an inappropriate remark in New York in 1930 about the "patience" of Negroes. The first three chapters of Moton's autobiography, *Finding a Way Out*, and the reminiscences of three white Southerners and seven colored associates reveal him as a vastly underrated man, but "a more distant period would doubtless require a scholarly evaluation of Dr. Moton's life" (p. v) and times.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, *Howard University*

CHARLES McLEAN ANDREWS: A STUDY IN AMERICAN HISTORICAL WRITING. By *A. S. Eisenstadt*. [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 588.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xx, 273. \$5.00.) Most of us, in reviewing what is obviously the first book of a young scholar, minimize faults, however glaring, and stress good features, however difficult to find. This practice can do great injury to scholarship because reviewers are the custodians of scholarly standards and ultimately determine the quality of the work which will be produced and accepted. It is this consideration that compels me to state that Dr. Eisenstadt's book was not ready for publication and that it should have been rewritten after much careful rethinking. First of all, the English in which it is written is, to put it mildly, painfully bad. The sentences are often pretentious, turgid, and lacking not only in precise meaning but even in any meaning at all. What can be made of these passages? "The transcending fact of what Andrews did was the fabulous effort he put into doing it. His brilliance was that of perseverance, his profundity that of building a monument out of the obvious. . . . His success was a commentary on the inevitability of gradualness . . ." (p. 37). "Its [the new school of colonial historians] philosophic insights did not amount to the insight of a philosophy. The truth of it was that, for the larger part, the generalizations it made came by the way of being *obiter dicta*. Its synthesis was nothing frontal but crept into the interstices" (p. 175). These are not isolated examples, and they unfortunately reflect accurately the quality of the thought behind the words. Proof that, given more time and more study, Eisenstadt could produce a worthy book can be found in his final chapter where both the thought and the literary style are clear and effective. Indeed, it is a valuable contribution in which the historical work of Andrews is evaluated convincingly from a relativist point of view. Andrews is a figure deserving study and a good peg on which to hang a study of one of the most significant periods in American historiography. Eisenstadt sees this and sees also, if not always distinctly, the major problems. In spite of the fact that he has read widely in the literature and has consulted both the correspondence and published works of Andrews, he fails to give adequate answers. He refers constantly to Andrews' "system" without making clear what he means by it. In fact, his account indicates that Andrews had no system of his own and in preparing the *Guide*, which Andrews at one time considered his major contribution, was carrying out a project planned by Jameson, and in his histories of the colonial period was continuing the imperial interpretation of Beer and Osgood. The analysis given of Andrews' ideas about progress and about "scientific history," both major problems for scholars of the period, is more likely to bring confusion than understanding. An opportunity has been missed, and probably unnecessarily.

W. STULL HOLT, *University of Washington*

THEY REMEMBER AMERICA: THE STORY OF THE REPATRIATED GREEK-AMERICANS. By *Theodore Saloutos*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 153. \$3.50.) This is an account of those Greek immigrants to the United States who left their adopted country to return to their homeland. The author is himself the son of Greek immigrants and has previously gained recognition for his studies of agrarianism in the United States. In this work, he analyzes first the factors that induced so many Greeks to emigrate to the New World. Then he portrays their life and status after their arrival—their bittersweet experiences in adjusting to a strange new industrial culture. Many immigrants decided that the cost of adjustment was too high. Of the more than half a million Greeks admitted to the United States by 1931, roughly 40 per cent, or 197,000, went back to their birthplace. They preferred to leave "the land of the full mouth" rather than to endure the harsh climate, the antiforeign sentiments, the alien language and customs, and the ceaseless toil of a

machine society. Saloutos then shows that many of these repatriates were unhappy when they returned to Greece. They were besieged by poverty-stricken relatives, harassed by forced government loans and currency instability, and, in some quarters, subjected to ridicule and contempt. In his final chapter, the author evaluates the influence of these repatriates upon their homeland, emphasizing their financial contributions, their spirit of optimism and innovation, and their new social ideas, especially those concerning the position of women. The author has handled his subject in a competent and engaging manner, using his data to bring out the trials and heartaches and also the hilarious experiences that awaited the repatriates. And yet this is essentially a disappointing book. One lays it down with the feeling that it failed to reveal anything really new. In accounting for the return of the repatriates, Saloutos presents factors that are precisely those that anyone at all familiar with the subject would have expected. The same is true of his analysis of the discontent and frustrations of the repatriates when they reached their homeland. The failure to attain new insight arises primarily from the lack of library and statistical resources in Greece. But even with this basic handicap, a bit more might perhaps have been squeezed out of the subject. The author reproduces a twenty-four point questionnaire that he used in his interviews and states that he "questioned at length approximately 70 repatriates in Greece and talked to about 120 other persons . . ." (p. 143). If a larger sample had been employed, might it not have proven possible to detect more patterns of behavior and motivation?

L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

THE SIGNAL CORPS: THE EMERGENCY (TO DECEMBER 1941). By *Dulany Terrett*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xiii, 383. \$3.50.) The first of three volumes in a series recording the history of the Signal Corps in World War II, this is another distinguished contribution to the recorded history of the United States Army. In the over-all historical program of the Department of the Army, it fits into a subseries entitled "The Technical Services." This volume is really all preamble, covering generally the drab period between the two great wars of the twentieth century. It is in this period that much of the signal equipment of World War II was developed. The author relates the painful story of the decline of the Signal Corps in the postwar twenties and the doldrums of the depression-ridden thirties. He records the frantic, futile, and yet somehow inspiring efforts of a service with terrible responsibilities to the future to maintain its program of experimentation and development of new media of communications, new instruments of defense. Through the story is woven the struggles of men, groups, and services for ascendancy and for greater shares of the pitifully small appropriations available for the development of the instruments of war for which each had great responsibility. In the end, one is left with a gasping wonder that this nation had either equipment or men to meet the urgencies of World War II. It almost did not. The reader must be prepared to face an amazing vocabulary of technical terminology, which the author has made strenuous and surprisingly successful efforts to make understandable for the lay reader. The difficulty of his task is indicated by the list of equipment in World War II, which covers thirty-six pages in the appendix and by a five-page list of abbreviations. It is a well-told story in spite of the heaviness imposed by technical language, and it is honestly told, despite the difficulties of laying the basic facts before the reader without incrimination or condemnation. The story was gleaned from the documents, of which there is no dearth, and the author has done a mammoth and discerning job of winnowing to produce a coherent narrative.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN, *Denver, Colorado*

THE QUARTERMASTER CORPS: OPERATIONS IN THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. By *Alvin P. Stauffer*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1956. Pp. xv, 358. \$4.00.) The war against Japan was fought in several "theaters." Dr. Stauffer covers the island-hopping campaigns in the Pacific, not the fighting on the Asiatic mainland, where the supreme commanders were not Americans. This was a tremendous task, considering the immensity of the area, the varied conditions, the large number of Army troops (plus other forces served), and the diversity of services. This fourth volume of a series of studies of Quartermaster planning and operations is a fitting finale. Though there is no formal bibliography, the six-page bibliographical note discusses the research problems involved. They range from the almost complete loss of files for the first Philippine campaign of 1941-1942 to the lack of after-action reports from small units. Yet almost every paragraph in the book is documented, often to more than one report. Some references are to secondary sources (other histories that may not be readily available to the reader), but it may be assumed that these sources are reasonably reliable; certainly they at no place distort the general account. To tie together the diverse threads of two distinct theaters (one of which was subdivided), the various levels of planning and operation, the numerous services performed, and to observe a chronological development—all this takes much skill, a skill well used by the author. In broad strokes, but with detailed illustrations, he moves from the loss of the Philippines to the problems of Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand, and then to Quartermaster organization throughout the Pacific areas. He discusses the main bases and methods of local procurement before turning to supply from the United States. He includes both physical problems of climate and movement and preferences of our troops for specific types of food, equipment, and services. Though occasionally one might wish to refer to earlier volumes for background, this study is self-contained and an excellent reference. The index is exceptionally usable.

H. FABIAN UNDERHILL, *Indiana University*

JESSE H. JONES: THE MAN AND THE STATESMAN. By *Bascom N. Timmons*. (New York: Henry Holt. 1956. Pp. 414. \$6.00.) This book does not add significantly to what Jesse Jones has told about himself in his own *Fifty Billion Dollars*. It is not a work of scholarship but largely a memoir by a man who regarded Jones as "the ablest man I have ever known." The author, a veteran newspaperman and close friend of Jones, says that a large proportion of the story consists of matters of his own "personal knowledge." As Timmons unfolds the story, one can seldom ascertain whether he is recalling direct observation, testimony from Jones, or hearsay. Footnotes are scarce and there is no bibliography. The author's general statements about men and events of the period are mainly reflections of his personal opinions and prejudices. With these limitations, the book is a readable account of an important career. It covers the whole span of Jesse's life and explains how he became rich. Settling in Houston, a center of rising wealth and population, he put everything he could borrow into real estate and buildings. With shrewd management of men and capital, he reaped the increment of natural growth in Texas. He helped to secure his business interests by playing an active role in community and political affairs and through ownership of the Houston *Chronicle*. Jones demonstrated a singleness of purpose, practicality of mind, and ability of decision which brought success in most of his undertakings. While Timmons' easygoing narrative illustrates the powerful qualities of his hero, it cannot be considered a well-rounded biography. It is limited chiefly to business and public matters and casts dim light upon Jones's personal life—except generalizations that he was universally loved and admired. The book, moreover, lacks

critical insight and is unreliable as history. One may safely conclude from it that Jones was a highly resourceful and useful citizen. But this fact has been well established by Jones himself, and Timmons contributes little else of value.

THOMAS H. GREER, *Michigan State University*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE: SOCIAL REFORMER, 1801-1876. By *Harold Schwartz*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXVII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 348. \$6.00.) Samuel Gridley Howe was a New England reformer of the early nineteenth century. High-tempered, thin-skinned, all too often paternalistic and condescending in his attitude toward others, lacking in humility,

difficult to live with, he was yet a great humanitarian and one who played a noble part in making the world a better place in which to live. He did relief work among the Greeks during their war for independence. He sought to aid the Poles in Prussia, exiles from their native land because of the Polish Revolution of 1830, and was thrown in prison for his pains by the Prussian government. Returning to the United States, he found his place in a struggling school for the blind. This school, which became known as the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind, he made the foremost institution of its kind in the world. He made an even greater name for himself in the education of the deaf-blind. His interests ramified. He led a movement that resulted in the organization of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth. Hydropathy and phrenology caught his fancy and consumed his time as possible means for the improvement of the human race. He became an ardent supporter of Horace Mann's effort to better public education and of Dorothea Lynde Dix's efforts to improve the condition of the insane. It was inevitable that Howe should become interested in abolitionism, and after about 1845 it absorbed more and more of his attention. Classing William Lloyd Garrison and his followers as fanatics, he yet abhorred the peculiar institution. His abhorrence was intensified by the controversy in the 1840's over the admission of Texas to the Union, and he became a Conscience Whig, more and more convinced that abolition was the only answer to the slavery evil. Howe was deeply involved in John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859. Doubtful of the value of war to save the Union, when war did come, he threw himself with fervor behind the Union cause. But he seems never to have regarded Lincoln as more than a "good-willed incompetent" (p. 257). A Jeffersonian in his principles, always suspicious of government's interference in economic matters, Howe had his proper place in the first half of the nineteenth century. The swirling currents and problems of post-Civil War America found him unresponsive to many of the social needs of the time, although he returned to education and the organization of charities in his later years. When he was over sixty-five, he reorganized the Perkins School. The author has placed Howe in his setting in more than adequate fashion. We have here an enlightening study of one facet of the reforming temperament that was so prevalent in the New England of the Middle Period. Taken in conjunction with similar studies, it gives us perspective on the reformers and their contribution to American society. There is good documentation, which is evidently much more extensive in the doctoral dissertation on which this book is based. The bibliography is useful, although it and the index might well have been expanded. Schwartz should be given credit for writing clearly, intelligibly, and with some degree of literary skill.

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN, *University of Rochester*

ANCESTORS AND IMMIGRANTS: A CHANGING NEW ENGLAND TRADITION. By *Barbara Miller Solomon*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 276. \$4.75.) Here is a notable addition to those recent books explaining in a new way part of the history of New England and owing their origin, in one way or another, to Oscar Handlin. This one describes the immigrant's influence on the ideas of those upper class Yankee Bostonians—the proper Bostonians, the Brahmins—who believed, in the mid-nineteenth century, in welcoming the newcomer as a matter of course, even if they didn't wholly like him. As the number of arrivals increased, many of the Brahmins grew dismayed and, before the century ended, felt that immigration, particularly that of the "new" type, should be sharply restricted. The character and development of their arguments are carefully and clearly analyzed, and the work of their creation, the Immigration Restriction League, is described adequately for the first time. The story of the League's success in securing federal legislation and

in helping stamp a pattern of immigration control on the country brings the book to a close. The Brahmin minority which kept to the old ideas of freedom is treated more briefly. The narrative could easily have been vague or lost in detail. It is neither. Good use is made of the personal approach; ideas are not just Brahmin ones, but those of a typical few, and these persons are made real and interesting. The book, consequently, is interesting too. It benefits further from a thorough and careful use of material, some available for the first time. The influence of Harvard is shown; not only was it the inevitable college for many Brahmins but also its faculty and presidents made many contributions to the debate on immigration. It is difficult to write about such a topic as the restriction of immigration in a dispassionate way, and this book is not without emotion, particularly in the later chapters. It has a point of view—that restriction was and is undesirable, that the American tradition is the nineteenth-century welcome rather than the dislike of the alien so strong over a rather longer period. It quite properly has no use for the arguments defending restriction on racial or religious grounds; it has little use for the arguments that America has paid a price for its rapid growth. The story Mrs. Solomon tells is not a happy one, but she does point out that newcomers, at first so disliked, have in the end been recognized for their worth as human beings. For this, and for its perceptive insight into a complex story and the difficult Brahmin character, her book makes a real addition to the Boston story.

HERBERT W. HILL, *Dartmouth College*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- FEDERALIST DELAWARE, 1775-1815. By John A. Munroe. [University of Delaware Monograph Series, Number 6.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 286. \$5.00.) The three counties that make up Delaware, with their long history from the first Swedish colonial settlements down to the present-day integration of schools and industrialization of rural areas, furnish an excellent laboratory for the study of American history, in which historians can test their principles of interpretation by the hard facts of local events. Delaware is half southern, half northern; one part is on a major trade route, one part is isolated; some of her people are British,

some European in origin. Her history is a tiny cameo of the largest elements of American experience. Professor Munroe's excellent volume, the intensive investigation of the records of forty years, is the ablest work yet done in this laboratory and certainly deserves to be considered the basic study of the Revolutionary generation in a critical, watershed area. He first describes the fabric of Delaware society in the late eighteenth century—the people, their villages, towns, and farms, their employments, thought, and faiths. Next he proceeds with a narrative of revolutionary events in Delaware, from the Stamp Act Congress which first drew the three lower counties into the web of continental union, through independence, invasion, the long trying years until peace, and the new constitution of 1787. Following 1795, he hangs all the various strands of his history on political developments, which in Delaware is a wholesome and useful thing to do because politics—the contest between Federalist and Republican—was the orientation of all the public activities of the people. Delaware was “the Federalist state paramount.” Until 1820, every Assembly was Federalist, as were every United States senator, most representatives, and all but two governors. Munroe's keen and convincing analysis of Delaware's rejection of Jeffersonianism is an important, perceptive contribution. Particularly important are his statements showing Methodism as a conservative force and isolation from European opinion as an arresting factor and his very instructive demonstration that the Jeffersonian party was the party of manufacture and commerce in Delaware while the Federalists were the party of farmers and pastoral virtue. This is a strange picture, but it is one which historians all would do well to contemplate, for they have been too easy with their generalizations. Surely history should never get too far from the people.

J. H. POWELL, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

BLUEGRASS CAVALCADE. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xv, 376. \$5.00.) In this volume, over sixty selections from some fifty writers have been skillfully put together as a literary and historical introduction to the Bluegrass region of Kentucky. The authors represented range from such early chroniclers of “The Promised Land” as John Filson and Gilbert Imlay to more recent writers like James Lane Allen, Henry Watterson, Irvin S. Cobb, Robert Penn Warren, and Clement Eaton. The pieces themselves vary from history, biography, and news stories to fiction, anecdotes, and tall tales. The editor, Professor Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, himself one of the outstanding writers on Kentucky, has made no effort here to present a systematic account of the origin and evolution of Bluegrass culture. Instead, he has sought through this impressive sample of the vast literature on the Kentucky Bluegrass to give the reader a taste of the rich flavor of the region and some insight into the mind and habits of its people, without neglecting its historical transition from frontier to civilization. The result is a well-organized, colorful, and entertaining book that focuses attention on a large assortment of topics, including the frontier, politics, the Civil War, heroes and heroines, religion, food, and such Bluegrass pastimes as horse racing and cockfighting. The excellent introduction and notes provided by the editor greatly enhance the book's usefulness. A final word: so effective are some of these Bluegrass writers that the reader can almost taste the bourbon and the burgoo!

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR., *Vanderbilt University*

THOMAS A. R. NELSON OF EAST TENNESSEE. By *Thomas B. Alexander*. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1956. Pp. x, 186. \$3.00.) Thomas A. R. Nelson was a successful country lawyer in upper East Tennessee and a conservative politician of the second rank. A Whig presidential elector in 1844 and 1848, he was narrowly

defeated for the Senate in 1851, and he served a term in Congress during the secession crisis. After the Civil War, Nelson became a Conservative Democratic supporter of Andrew Johnson and a minor member of Johnson's counsel during the impeachment trial. He played his most important historical role as a leader of the East Tennessee Unionists during the Civil War, when his ambiguous course reflected the perplexing position of those moderates who could never be altogether happy about either side. Such unspectacular figures are often more representative of important groups than the major leaders, and they are too frequently passed over by historians. Nelson's biography shares his own respectable but unspectacular qualities. The author conscientiously recounts the successive events of Nelson's life, but he has not cast much new light over the still murky historical terrain that Nelson traversed.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, Jr., *Princeton University*

GEORGE WASHINGTON CAMPBELL OF TENNESSEE: WESTERN STATESMAN. By *Weymouth T. Jordan*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 17.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1955. Pp. x, 214. \$3.50.) Between 1803 and 1836, George Washington Campbell held many public offices. He was a representative and senator from Tennessee in the Congress of the United States, a member of Tennessee's Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, Secretary of the Treasury, minister to Russia, and a United States commissioner to adjudicate spoliation claims of Americans against France. He was also a notably successful lawyer and businessman. In politics, he was a supporter of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson. Professor Jordan has felt strongly that Campbell "does not deserve the obscurity that has been his lot" (p. 201); and so he has undertaken "to put together for the first time a connected account of Campbell's activities and contributions, and to rescue him from almost complete oblivion" (p. viii). Unfortunately, however, no substantial body of Campbell's own correspondence and other papers appears to have been preserved for the enlightenment of biographers and historians. Jordan has searched industriously in national, state, and county archives, in some of the groups of papers preserved by Campbell's contemporaries, in newspapers, and elsewhere, and as a result he has found scattered bits of information which he has brought together as an account, adequate for his purposes, chiefly of Campbell's public career. The relatively little information that is available about Campbell's private life is presented in the last chapter, which was published, substantially as in the present volume, in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* for 1941.

PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE FOUNDING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN WISCONSIN. By Lloyd P. Jorgenson. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1956. Pp. viii, 252.) This volume describes the development of public education in Wisconsin from its rudimentary beginnings at scattered trading posts to the fairly definite establishment of a state school system by the opening of the Civil War. It treats of attitudes toward education among the settlers, school law, school finance, school organization, curriculum, and instruction during the territorial period and the early years of statehood. It is a welcome addition to both state history and the history of education. The reader will find educational problems, mistakes, and progress much the same as those with which he is familiar elsewhere. Confusion over local responsibility for maintaining schools, the struggle for tax support, misuse of the school lands, faith in education coupled with a lack of willingness to support it, evolution of the superintendency, discipline and attendance, teacher certification and education—all are subjects of discussion. And the discussion is of value in relation not only to the history of education in Wisconsin but to that in the nation. The book is well organized and well written. The author seems to have used excellent sources and used them well. Laws and legislative journals, county records, reports of the state superintendent, diaries and recollections, contemporary newspapers, and professional journals are exploited, together with appropriate secondary works. One might wish that local school records had been used more extensively, but these are difficult to locate for most frontier regions. There is a useful note on the sources. Appendixes include a significant school bill from the territorial assembly, some data on Wisconsin teachers for 1859-1860, and the school report of the Secretary of the Territory for 1847. Footnotes are assembled at the end of the book, rather than appearing on the appropriate pages. The volume is indexed.

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT, *Duke University*

AN AMERICAN IN CALIFORNIA: THE BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM HEATH DAVIS, 1822-1909. By Andrew F. Rolle. (San Marino, Calif.: Henry E. Huntington

Library. 1956. Pp. x, 155. \$4.25.) Most historians of the West are familiar with William Heath Davis' autobiographical *Seventy-five Years in California*. Davis traded on the western coast from 1838 until his death in 1909, and in his book astutely observed the hide and tallow trade, the conquest of California by the United States in 1846, the Gold Rush, and the later economic metamorphoses of San Francisco and San Diego. But until now, no biography of William Heath Davis has appeared to fill the gaps and elucidate the scattered jottings of *Seventy-five Years*. Andrew Rolle has most fortunately answered this need in *An American in California*. Rolle's work by no means supplants the Davis source, nor does he so intend it; instead he frequently avoids repetition of the *Seventy-five Years*. For example, Davis' description of his own wedding in 1847 to Maria Estudillo, daughter of a wealthy and important Mexican family, is filled with rich detail of customs and festivities. Rolle, however, skims lightly over the colorful particulars but goes on to delineate wider implications of this union of the Protestant-Boston and Catholic-Spanish traditions. One particularly good chapter in the Rolle account, which also suggests the book's value as a supplement to the Davis source, relates Davis' problems after 1851 as manager of the Estudillo properties. The San Leandro Ranch of some 4,500 acres fronting on San Francisco Bay was subject to the complaints of an embattled cattle industry, constant conflict with squatters, and endless litigation over land titles. Throughout the fifties and sixties, as both a cattleman and a farmer, Davis joined the kind of fight which later became nationally important not only in the wars of cattleman against homesteader in the Middle West but also in Grangerism, Populism, and the whole plight of an agricultural society in the midst of an increasingly urban economy. Davis' own account of the San Leandro Ranch is hopelessly episodic; Rolle gives a far more complete picture. It is to be hoped that an equally valuable biography will be forthcoming of Alfred Robinson, whose *Life in California* provides the same kind of vivid source as the early parts of Davis' *Seventy-five Years*.

ROBERT V. HINE, *University of California, Riverside*

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Latin American History

Rollie E. Poppino¹

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF MEXICO, 1517-1521. By Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Edited from the only exact copy of the original MS (and published in Mexico) by Genaro García. Translated and with an Introduction and Notes by A. P. Maudslay. Introduction to the American edition by Irving A. Leonard. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1956. Pp. xxxi, 478. \$6.50.) This first American edition of Bernal Díaz has been strangely long-delayed, so it is now that much more welcome. Such an easily available edition as this will satisfy a real need in the classroom and many a public library, for other printings of the Maudslay translation were not readily accessible and the Keatinge translation was unsatisfactory on various scores. This edition is very attractive in format and, following the 1928 English edition, excludes the long account of the Cortés march to Honduras, two factors which will undoubtedly contribute to the book's popularity. Unfortunately, the volume lacks even minimum map facilities, and this will be hard on readers not well acquainted with Mexican history and geography. It is unfortunate that some of the cost of the decorative drawing could not have been diverted to produce the useful maps of the 1928 edition. For those who know and appreciate the Spanish language, the volume is irritating because it constantly misuses accents in proper names; this carelessness in the original Maudslay work

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

should have been rectified. There is a useful "translator's commentary," an outlined itinerary of the Cortés expedition, and an index. One valuable feature is the use of some of Cortés' writing to round out the story of the siege and fall of the Aztec capital. Ubiquitous though he was, Bernal Díaz could see from only one of the three attack points, and thus the Cortés descriptions contribute to a much fuller view of the story's climax. The Leonard and García introductions place in perspective this classic of New World adventure, stressing again that this eyewitness account of one of man's truly unique and magnificent experiences deserves to rank in the highest level of the great adventure stories of all time.

PHILIP W. POWELL, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

THE IMPERIAL CITY OF POTOSÍ: AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA. By *Lewis Hanke*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1956. Pp. 60. Guilders 5.70.) This engaging little book might be called a prospectus for a history of the once-famous silver mining city of Potosí in colonial Upper Peru (modern Bolivia). Its purpose is to promote that systematic and thorough study which Potosí richly deserves but has never received ("Our knowledge of Potosí may be said to be still in the folklore stage. . . . Myths about Potosí still influence the historians who study its past"). To this end, Professor Hanke first sketches in *chiaroscuro* the lurid history of this "boom town supreme" from the discovery of its fabulously rich mountain of silver in 1545 to the Liberator Bolívar's visit to it in 1825. Having thus captured the attention of all but the most obstinate readers, the author goes on to discuss soberly such topics as "The Dearth of Printed Histories of Potosí," "Manuscript Material Available," and (in the longest section of the book, pp. 17-35) "Problems in the History of Peru." The text concludes with some "Tentative Interpretations" and is followed by fourteen pages of notes and a copious index. The latter includes the names of authors and almost all other names mentioned in the text and notes—almost, but not quite, for while both Don Quijote and Sancho Panza appear on page 1, only Don Quijote makes the index. Appropriately to its purpose, the book opens with the following flourish: "No city in all the vast territory of America won for the King of Spain—save perhaps Mexico City—has had a more interesting or more important history than Potosí. . . ." While appropriate, this gambit is unsound. By no generally agreed standard was Potosí the most important city in Spanish America during the last colonial century. To most historians, past and present, this moneygrubbing city, perpetually adolescent even in its dotage, in which not a single book was published in the whole colonial period, was never very interesting—else why that dearth of histories of it of which Hanke complains? Yet we agree that its importance is considerable and its neglect excessive; and we hope that Hanke will take the lead in making amends to it by following up his present brief foray with a sustained attack on its superabundant historical materials, which, of their kind, are as rich as the silver mountain of Potosí that the Spaniards rifled in the century and a half after its discovery.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, *University of Pennsylvania*

EARLY FLORIDA THROUGH SPANISH EYES. By *W. R. Jackson, Jr.* Edited by *R. S. Boggs*. [University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, Number 12.] (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press. 1954. Pp. 179.) This is an account of the early years of Florida through Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian eyes (contrary to what the title might lead us to believe), together with reflections almost exclusively of a historical nature. The chronicles of Florida are interesting to the historian, but they hardly lend themselves to a rewarding literary scrutiny, and one wonders why Mr. Jackson was permitted to use them as the basis of a doctoral dissertation by the Depart-

ment of Spanish and Italian at the University of Illinois. The plan of the work is also hard to understand. Excerpts from the chronicles are scattered throughout the book, and there are other selections from the same sources in the form of an anthology. All this material has been collected in four chapters, viz., "Legendary Florida," "Gold, Silver and Pearls," "Florida as a Land of Plenty," and "The Character of the Inhabitants." The weaknesses that we have noted probably result from the fact that the author did an essentially historical work in a department whose orientation is obviously not primarily historical. The notes are carefully done, and there is a good bibliography.

MANOEL CARDOZO, *Catholic University of America*

HISTORIA DE SANTO DOMINGO. By *Gustavo Adolfo Mejía*. (Ciudad Trujillo: Editores Pol Hermanos. 1956. Pp. 453, xxvii.) This is the eighth volume of the detailed and extensively documented history of Santo Domingo, which has been in publication since 1948. The preceding volumes cover the story in the following form: background and beginnings; discovery and Columbus, to 1493; occupation and conquest, 1493-1506; colonization and early administration, 1506-1533; colonial era, 1533-1608; seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 1608-1801; and Napoleonic conquest, Haitian occupation and war of reconquest, 1801-1809. In the new volume, Mejía deals with the period known as the reincorporation with Spain (1809-1820) and the achievement of independence (1821). He describes the reestablishment of Spanish rule, giving details of the opening years of the new regime, and explains the Cadiz constitution and its application in Santo Domingo. Following are his accounts of the administration by the governors sent from Spain and the events which led up to the final break with the mother country in 1821. He next sets forth the story of the achievement of independence, explaining the plan of the revolutionists and its execution. He gives the text of the declaration of independence and of the constitution, and discusses the activities of the leaders in the revolutionary movement and in the organization of the early independent government. The survey is well presented and many important documents are included either in the text or in the elaborate footnotes. Each chapter has a bibliography, and there is an index of names. The Secretary of Education and Fine Arts has declared Mejía's work a text for the professors of the normal schools of the Republic. It is a worthy contribution to the historiography of Santo Domingo.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D. C.*

TREINTA AÑOS DE APRISMO. By *Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre*. (Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1956. Pp. 247.) Written by the founder and leader of the Revolutionary People's Alliance of America (APRA) while a political refugee in the Colombian Embassy in Lima, this book seeks to vindicate the correctness and consistency of APRA's general line during the thirty years of its existence. The basis of Haya's position is the simple premise that "Europe is Europe and America is America." From this premise flows his theory of imperialism, which differs sharply from the Marxist or Leninist model in its particularism. Haya argues that for Latin America imperialism is not the last or highest stage of capitalism but the first and lowest, for there it represents not only a danger but a progressive force, hastening industrialization (admittedly of a very limited type) and the formation of an industrial proletariat. Moreover, the export of surplus capital to backward areas by great industrial powers like the United States is inevitable and irresistible in its drive. Therefore Latin-American "resistance" to imperialism should not take the form of seeking to exclude or expel all foreign capital but should attempt to control or regulate it, setting conditions for its activity that would "obtain all the benefits of industrialization while trying to diminish as much as possible its aspects of injustice and

cruelty." In any case, the abolition of imperialism is not a task for weak peoples "in the rearguard of economic progress." Haya insists that the first step in resistance to imperialism must be the political and economic union of all Indo-America; he does not explain how this "first step" is to be taken in the discernible future in the face of the mountainous differences separating the Latin-American states. The Aprista domestic program speaks of "progressive nationalization of agrarian and industrial wealth," but Haya observes, citing with special approval the Uruguayan and Mexican examples, that this nationalization must be neither socialist nor communist. The great landowner is signaled out as the chief enemy of progress in Peru and reference is made to "legal expropriation" of large estates, but chief stress is placed on technical reforms and on consultation between classes through an Economic Congress representing labor, capital, and the state. The essentially middle-class character of the Aprista movement emerges from Haya's analysis of the Peruvian social scene: neither the backward Indian peasantry nor the small and immature industrial proletariat is qualified to lead the nation; by inference, it is the middle class, the most cultured and socially conscious sector of the population, that must lead a union of the three classes in the formation of a democratic, anti-imperialist state. As is well known, during its brief tenure of political influence in the Bustamante coalition government, 1945-1948, the Aprista People's Party showed a marked readiness to subordinate political philosophy to the advantages of officeholding and a mild program of social legislation. This fact gives an unconvincing quality to Haya de la Torre's pseudo-Marxist phrases and to his grandiose program.

BENJAMIN KEEN, *Springfield, Massachusetts*

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

History and Historians in 1956
The St. Louis Meeting

I

The seventy-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at the Sheraton-Jefferson, St. Louis, Missouri, December 28-30, offered to those who attended a fair cross section of what American historians are thinking and doing in 1956. No central theme characterized the program since the committee believed that experiments in that direction had often been little more than undue amplifications of Croce's text, all history is contemporary. A few years ago an analysis of the Association's presidential addresses made a doctoral dissertation; a very satisfactory master's essay could be made out of the reports of program chairmen, an essay valuable in method as well as in substance, for it would furnish a *caveat* against exclusive dependence on documents.

Registrations for the meeting totaled about 1,500, and in addition many guests swelled the attendance. In all there were fifty-three general and joint sessions, luncheon conferences, and dinner meetings, two teas, and one "reception." (Unhappily there is no record of the number or topics of the intermural sessions.) Twenty groups and societies met jointly with the Association. Except for two joint sessions at the St. Louis Public Library, three joint sessions at the Statler, and a tea at St. Louis University, all sessions were held at the Sheraton-Jefferson. Ralph Bieber of Washington University had charge of local arrangements and much credit for a successful meeting goes to him and his committee. The members of that committee were: John F. Bannon, S.J., St. Louis University; Averam B. Bender, Harris Teachers College; Harold E. Briggs, Southern Illinois University; Homer Clevenger, Lindenwood College; Jasper W. Cross, St. Louis University; Samuel A. Johnson, Harris Teachers College; Wesley E. Kettelkamp, Historical Association of Greater St. Louis; Franc L. McCluer, President, Lindenwood College; Floyd A. McNeil, Principia College; Clarence E. Miller, Librarian, St. Louis Mercantile Library; Dorothy A. Neuhoff, Washington University; Louis M. Nourse, Librarian, St. Louis Public Library; Charles Van Ravenswaay, Director, Missouri Historical Society; The Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, S.J., President, St. Louis University; Ethan A. H. Shepley, Chancellor, Washington University; Reverend August R. Suellflow, Director, Concordia Historical Institute; and Dorothy A. Williams, Principia College. The Association has every reason to be

grateful to the staffs of the Sheraton-Jefferson, the Statler, and the St. Louis Public Library for contributing to the success of the meeting.

The Program Committee consisted of Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University, Charles Gibson of the State University of Iowa, R. S. Hoyt of the University of Minnesota, Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago, John H. Stewart of Western Reserve University, and Charles F. Mullett of the University of Missouri, chairman. Although the chairman cannot for reasons of space list all those to whom he feels a special debt, he must avow his gratitude not only to the extraordinarily congenial members of the committee, but to George Carson, Director, AHA Service Center for Teachers of History, Val Lorwin of the University of Chicago, and Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, all of whom sat with the committee at one or another of its sessions (which by the courtesy of the last named were held at the Newberry), and to his colleagues at Missouri who gave ease and comfort beyond the call of duty. To the chairmen of sessions and the participants must also go the thanks of the committee.

The program itself emerged from a great number and variety of suggestions, some volunteered, some the product of the committee itself, and many the response to about one hundred letters to departmental chairmen. The committee, though embarrassed by riches, deeply appreciated the quantity and quality of topics presented for its consideration. Yet it must also be said that in the midst of plenty was sparseness: for several significant areas of historical study the committee received either no or at best one proposal. Before the committee made its final decisions on proposed general sessions, it carefully considered on the basis of diverse evidence whether the topics were significant and whether they would compete successfully with less organized attractions. If some rooms were too small and others too large, the members of the committee can only plead that though historians may transcend space they have not conquered it, that on occasion enthusiasm for a session was not translated into attendance. Some sessions were deliberately set up to cut across boundaries, geographical, chronological, and intellectual; others of course had a narrower appeal. Happily, the broader sessions dug deep as well as general and the more specialized ones often had a projective quality that dug general as well as deep.

II

Sessions of general interest got off to a lively and satisfying start when Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College dealt with the perennial problem of periodization in a paper "How and When Did the Modern World Begin?" with James L. Cate, University of Chicago, in the chair. The widely varied answers to this question, said Artz, depended in part on whether an intellectual or a political and economic historian was considering it. He preferred to coordinate these disparate views, suggesting that modern intellectual life began in northern France between 1150 and 1300 and that the modern economic and political world came into being in north-

ern Italy in the same period. Both appointed commentators took issue with this conclusion. Bryce Lyon, University of Illinois, speaking as a medievalist, deplored recent attrition on the thousand years traditionally allotted to the Middle Ages. Geoffrey Bruun would set the opening of the modern world much later, when European expansion had modified the prevalent parochialism and the new scientific method and spirit had released men's minds from prison. Artz defended his position by stressing the technological advances that began as early as 800. Since all three participants adhered meticulously to their time limits, there was opportunity for discussion from the floor. The amount and vigor of audience participation from the S.R.O. crowd of over two hundred, as well as a lengthy report in the newspaper, justified the inclusion of the topic.

Another general session of wide appeal, designed to mark the 250th anniversary of Benjamin Franklin's birth and the 100th anniversary of Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime* . . . , produced two thought-provoking addresses and a challenging comparison. George W. Pierson of Yale presided. In a cogent analysis of the celebrated eighteenth-century American, whose papers he is now editing, Leonard W. Labaree of Yale argued that the image of Poor Richard—of Franklin as the apostle of the middle-class virtues of industry, ingenuity, frugality, and thrift—has been overdone while other notable characteristics have been neglected. Franklin can be more usefully remembered for his persistent statesmanship in the cause of peace, for his abandonment of money-grubbing in favor of forty-two years of service to his fellow man, and especially for his capacity to broaden and grow. Where he had once scorned the Pennsylvania Dutch he became their patron. And where he had begun as a slaveholder he wound up as president of the Abolition Society.

In his reconsideration of Alexis de Tocqueville, Edward T. Gargan of Loyola University, Chicago, referring to the resurgent but uneven scholarship on France's great analyst of democratic societies, suggested that historians might deliberately disregard Tocqueville's uncanny talent for prophecy in order to penetrate unanswered questions. How had the Restoration, and its collapse, conditioned Tocqueville's psychology? From what personal experience or chance cues had Tocqueville generalized his equalitarian judgments in the second part of his *Démocratie*? Had not his preferences for the theoretical and the spiritual over the pragmatic and institutional prejudiced his political effectiveness? And had not his fears of socialism as the road to dictatorship perhaps deprived his generation of an architect of that intellectual leadership without which it could not succeed? The historian's biography must yet be written. In trait after striking trait—commented Robert R. Palmer of Princeton—Franklin and Tocqueville were diametric opposites. And it might have been well had Tocqueville known more of Franklin, or grasped the usefulness of the factual, American approach.

III

Alongside the sauce for the speculative there was fare for the specialist, fare that had its sauce too. Ancient history regrettably had only one session and that, significantly, was outside Greece and Rome. That interest exists in the Ancient field is to be seen in the highly successful session, chaired by A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan, which was devoted to the reading and discussion of a scholarly and interesting paper, "Some Sumerian Questions," by Tom B. Jones, University of Minnesota. After pointing out that our present views of Sumerian civilization are based primarily on material disclosed by excavations and knowledge derived from Sumerian literature, he proceeded to show by an examination of certain documents from the Third Dynasty of Ur that another important but relatively untapped source of information exists in the Sumerian economic texts. The documents which Jones discussed relate to the production of barley at Lagash. Through them, we may see how agricultural production was organized and what changes in the older system were introduced by the central government at Ur; they also furnish criteria for estimating the size of the population at Lagash. The paper was illustrated by slides.

In his commentary, John Snyder, Indiana University, indicated the importance of increasing our knowledge of the history of the Ancient Near East for a better understanding of the problems of Greek history, but stressed the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the documentary sources for Sumerian social and economic history. He also stressed the significance of the Third Dynasty of Ur as a period of political and social change and proceeded to adduce supporting evidence of Jones's conclusions. Many members of this well-attended session participated in a general discussion.

If the ancient period was scantied, the same can scarcely be said of medieval history, for, in addition to sharing in sessions not exclusively medieval, it had three. At the dinner of the Mediaeval Academy, with S. Harrison Thomson of Colorado replacing David Bjork, University of California at Los Angeles, in the chair, Bryce Lyon of the University of Illinois read a provocative paper, "Medieval Real Estate Developments and Freedom." He pointed out that although since the mid-nineteenth-century medievalists had sensed a connection between the vast land reclamation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the emancipation of the peasant, no one had attempted to trace the evolution from serfdom to self-government won by many peasants who reclaimed and settled land in Germany, France, England, and the Low Countries. He for his part devoted his attention to Maritime Flanders where the evidence was most abundant. Here the counts and ecclesiastical establishments lured peasants to reclaim and settle land by granting them elementary bourgeois liberties and thereby creating *villes neuves*. This area of freedom pressed so relentlessly upon the seignorial system to the interior that commutation of labor services occurred rapidly; by the mid-thirteenth century there was no longer any

serfdom in Flanders. Therefore, one must conclude that land reclamation exerted a constant and powerful pressure for emancipation. By the thirteenth century, the new communities of Maritime Flanders had begun to attain the privileges of self-government; surprisingly enough, even small agrarian communities secured such status. Although the evidence is less satisfactory for France and Germany, they too witnessed the same development. Clearly we should not regard self-government as a monopoly of the great towns; it existed also in the agrarian village. Agrarian freedom and self-government, Lyon concluded, date from the twelfth century, not from the Germany of Tacitus.

In the session devoted to medieval intellectual and ecclesiastical history, presided over by Gray Boyce of Northwestern, George H. Williams of Harvard University presented a rigorous analysis of "The Sacramental Presuppositions of St. Anselm's Doctrine of the Atonement," showing that the strictly rationalist character of the demonstration in *Cur Deus Homo* has deflected attention from the sacramental milieu of Anselm's doctrine of the atonement. A fresh examination of all of Anselm's writings which throw light on his sacramental theology in relation to the atonement makes it possible to distinguish "baptismal theories" of the atonement in which the struggle of Christ with the demonic power is uppermost and a "eucharistic theory" of the atonement. By the eleventh century, when baptism had become largely a rite of infancy and penance had come to interpose itself between baptismal regeneration and the eucharistic altar, it was appropriate that an alert theologian should articulate afresh the doctrine of the atonement consonant with the changes in the relationship of the sacraments to each other. The *Cur Deus Homo* in sloughing off the devil also witnesses a change in the function of the sacraments. In the eleventh century, the baptismally qualified penitent is progressively incorporated into the Body of Christ by the sacrament of the altar, becoming one with the universal humanity of the *Deus-homo*. In his appreciative commentary, Father John A. Kemp of Loyola University stressed the fundamental position of St. Anselm in the maturation of theological thought. It was Anselm, and not his predecessors, who made it possible for subsequent scholars to make progress. Both speaker and commentator agreed that in Anselm is truly found the *Philosophus Christi* who, with beauty and tenderness, on a high level, classified religious truth while dealing boldly with the greatest problems of Christian faith. Under the stimulus of so excellent a paper and commentary, there were several questions from the floor.

Although at first thought the immediacy of current international politics would seem to have no medieval antecedents, the session on East and West in the Middle Ages, chaired by Joseph Strayer, Princeton University, effectively refuted such an assumption. In his paper, "How European Was Eastern Europe in the High Middle Ages?" Otakar Odlozilik of the University of Pennsylvania discussed the competition among Byzantium, the German Empire, and the pope for the allegiance of the central belt of Slavic states running from Poland to Serbia.

He stressed the importance of the schism of 1054 in creating this competition but also pointed out that the investiture struggle stirred up a great deal of interest in securing the support of the states of East Central Europe. Competition between pope and emperor for the support of Poland, Bohemia, and Croatia was at least as intensive as the struggle between Rome and Byzantium. The papacy found that granting royal titles and establishing new metropolitan sees were effective weapons in securing the support of the ruling classes in the disputed zone. Archibald Lewis, University of Texas, suggested that economic contacts were at least as important as religious and political alliances in determining the characteristics of the civilization of the East Central European countries. As long as this region had few commercial contacts with the West, it tended to gravitate toward the East. Peter Charanis of Rutgers suggested that before the question of relative Eastern and Western influences could be discussed, a definition should be given of the two civilizations which were supposedly in conflict. He felt that the importance of the schism of 1054 had been overestimated and that the real turning point came in the eighth century when Rome broke with Byzantium and sought support in Northern and Western Europe.

IV

The early modern period got much more consideration than has sometimes been the case. The Renaissance and Reformation had sessions to themselves, and in several more general sessions one or two papers dealt with the same period. A highly praised meeting, chaired by Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, sponsored by the American Committee of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, was devoted to "Representative Institutions, Medieval and Early Modern."

Three stimulating papers dealt chiefly with the executive in relation to assemblies. Gavin I. Langmuir of Harvard University treated the problem of counsel in the French royal assemblies of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Emphasizing the tradition of consultation, he showed that the assembly was not simply a judicial aspect of the *curia regis*, but the instrument by which the king could receive the counsel of the barons and decide matters wisely and well. The flexibility of counsel, however, permitted the king to increase his power at the expense of the old idea of the wisdom of the community represented by the barons. J. Russell Major of Emory University showed how the variety of French assemblies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the consequent lack of experience in procedures, and the "loss of royal initiative" between 1558 and 1615 caused the decay of the Estates General. Herbert H. Rowen of the State University of Iowa, interested in the problems of the central authority in Holland rather than in representation, argued that John de Witt, the "makeshift executive," failed because there was no permanent executive, but improvisation only, and implied that the lack of a monarchy strong enough to make use of an adequate representation of the estates was the

principal weakness. The discussion of the papers was ably led by Ralph E. Giesey of the University of Washington. He emphasized the failure of the Estates General to assume responsibility in France and the resulting absolutism of the monarchy, while in Holland the estates were anti-absolutist and had to become responsible.

Considering the opportunity at hand, the program committee could not fail to present a description of the nature and riches of the Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University. This session was chaired by Rev. Robert J. Welch, State University of Iowa. The first two speakers were actively associated with establishment of the library, which began in 1951 and is now nearing completion. To date, over 11,000,000 pages have been filmed from the Vatican Library's collection of handwritten volumes or codexes. Using a color movie, Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., St. Louis University, explained the problems and methods of filming so vast an amount of material and the Library's setup and use. With the aid of color slides, Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., also of St. Louis University, discussed "The Indexes and Other Aids in Using the Vatican Manuscripts." There are, he said, three general tools: the first and most elementary is the written inventory; the second, now suspended, is a collection of 300,000 microfilmed three-by-five cards; the third is a series of printed volumes containing detailed information. All these indexes plus smaller partial studies are available at the Film Library. The third and fourth speakers dealt with the value of the library for specific research interests. Stephan Kuttner, Catholic University, concerned himself with "Canon Law Research in Vatican Manuscripts." He rejected the common assumption that the Vatican Library is the greatest repository of canon law manuscripts; rather it must share its great distinction with collections at Paris, Munich, Leipsig, Vienna, and elsewhere. He also pointed out that the canon law material in the Vatican was largely unused until the present century and that even now much has scarcely been touched. Although he recognized the value of the Film Library in preserving and making available what might otherwise be lost, he observed that marginal glosses and important erasures do not appear in sharp focus. Paul O. Kristeller, Columbia University, in his "Renaissance Research in Vatican Manuscripts," emphasized the great strength of the collections for the Renaissance, a strength "apparently not suspected by those who have not seen them." Many modern scholars have too little appreciation of the manuscript books, as against printed works and archival materials. Since the descriptive volumes so far issued cover only about one fifth of the manuscript materials, Kristeller is soon to publish a catalogue of the unpublished Renaissance texts from the Library. In the subsequent discussion, the audience learned that a second project, that of microfilming the rare books of the Vatican Library, including those relating to Latin America and the Orient, will begin this year.

More exclusively concerned with the Renaissance was a session, unusual in its character, devoted to the work of a foremost scholar in the field. In the absence of E. Harris Harbison of Princeton University, his colleague, Joseph R. Strayer, pre-

sided. Wallace K. Ferguson of the University of Western Ontario read the paper, "The Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism: The Contribution of Hans Baron." After an introductory survey of the varying trends in the interpretation of Italian Humanism during the past hundred years, he noted the fact that most recent efforts in the direction of reinterpretation have been the result of considering the humanist movement in relation to new frames of reference. In this context he then discussed Baron's interpretation of "civic humanism" as a product of the political events of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and particularly of the threat to republican liberty posed by the aggressive Visconti despotism. While fully appreciating the new insights to be gained by placing Humanism in a political frame of reference, he concluded that a comprehensive synthesis would have to be based on a broader foundation. In his comment, William A. Bouwsma of the University of Illinois argued that Baron's purpose has been less to provide a new synthesis than to shift emphasis in Renaissance scholarship to the intensive examination of limited problems. Gene A. Brucker of the University of California, the second commentator, suggested that a fuller knowledge of the internal politics of Florence in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento than is now available might have altered some of Baron's conclusions. Hans Baron of the Newberry Library replied to the criticism of his work and discussed the problems still confronting students of Italian Humanism.

The American Society for Reformation Research held a joint session with the American Society of Church History and the American Historical Association, with John T. McNeill in the chair. The first paper, by Clyde L. Manschreck of Duke University, entitled "The Role of Melanchthon in the Adiaphora Controversy," dealt with the development of the controversy, the views of Melanchthon's opponents, aspects of adiaphora in the earlier writings of Melanchthon and Luther, and the significance of Melanchthon's participation in the controversy. He emphasized the importance of the theological issues, especially the consistent assertion by Melanchthon of the doctrine of Justification by Faith as conditioning his admission of adiaphora in ceremonies, and maintained that Melanchthon did not, in the crisis of 1548, alter the position taken in his earlier writings, or even diverge from the opinions of Luther. In his comment, T. Watson Street of Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary took a less favorable view of Melanchthon, citing Calvin's opinion that Melanchthon's category of adiaphora was too inclusive. He questioned the consistency of Melanchthon and felt that his concessions in the controversy went too far. The discussion placed the controversy in its larger context. The second paper, by Karl H. Dannenfeldt of Arizona State College, dealt with "Concepts of History in Reformation Thought." Dannenfeldt showed the importance of history for Luther and the other reformers as an endless source of examples revealing the will of God and as an aid against the papacy. Luther in controversy turned to history and often acutely criticized prevailing historical assumptions. Melanchthon influenced historiography especially by his edition of John Carion's *Chronicon*.

Zwingli had wide knowledge in history and freely used it. Calvin effectively used his knowledge of the history of the church to refute the papal advocates. Bullinger was less polemical. History became preeminently a Protestant field of study and an instrument of controversy in which Protestant writers stressed the difference between the ancient and the late medieval church. William A. Mueller of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary presented in his comment considerable additional material of interest. The discussion period was necessarily short. Questions referred to included the contribution of Roman Catholic historical writing of the era and the influence of Spalatin on Melanchthon and of Sleidan on Calvin.

Casting its net wide, the session on "The Noble Dream," under the chairmanship of Willson Coates of the University of Rochester, ranged over the last four and a half centuries of Western thought. Eugene Rice of Cornell University showed how the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century travelers to Utopia, "Merchants of Light," both revealed and stimulated the European mind of that time. He analyzed "three fundamental characteristics of Utopian writing—a growing relativism rooted in a widening conception of the institutionally, morally, and religiously possible; a heightened consciousness and understanding of the uniqueness and peculiarities of contemporary European society; and an ability to criticize the *status quo* with detachment." Mrs. Jean T. Joughin gave an exposition of *The City of Equality*, written by the late-nineteenth-century French Marxist, Olivier Souëtre. This work was characteristically anticapitalist and economically-determinist, stressed technology and the perfectibility of institutions, and supports the view that the logical projection of Marxian socialism is a brand of nineteenth-century utopianism. Eugen Weber of the University of California at Los Angeles examined "A Literature of Disillusion—the Anti-Utopia of the Twentieth Century." This peculiarly modern phenomenon has resulted from our very attempts to put Utopian concepts into practice and our proximity to Utopia. The anti-Utopian novelists depict Utopia as a creation of man's ingenuity that progressively dehumanizes him. The modern drive to control nature, however, is as human as the despair induced by its success. "Utopia and Anti-Utopia are the strophe and anti-strophe of a chorus commenting on the doings of man." In his critique of the papers, Joel Colton of Duke University, while admitting the critical and reforming functions of Utopias, suggested that their true totalitarian character should have been recognized sooner. He regarded the meliorist view rather than the Utopian "heresy" as more characteristic of the humane and rationalist traditions of Western culture.

To some extent one might properly consider the session over which William L. Langer of Harvard presided as a case study in Utopian thought and non-Utopian practice. It was devoted entirely to Giuseppe Mazzini and the organization of the Young Europe movement in the years 1831–1835. F. Gunther Eyck, University of Texas, discussed the general topic as well as the Young German aspect of the movement; George A. Carbone, University of Mississippi; Alan Spitzer, Boston

University; and Ludvik Krzyanowski, New York University, analyzed, respectively, the more specifically Italian, French, Swiss, and Polish branches of the Young Europe organization. Resting heavily on the Mazzini correspondence, the various papers stressed the Italian patriot's rejection of the *Carbonaro* movement, his aversion to the "materialism" of the French Revolution, and his uncompromising hatred of tyranny and oppression, as well as his aspirations for humanity, his faith in the collaboration of peoples, and his emphasis on the duties rather than the rights of man. All authors referred to Mazzini's weaknesses, especially his intellectual arrogance and his ineptness in practical affairs. They noted also the relative weakness of his movement and the unwillingness of various national groups, especially the French and the Swiss, to subordinate their particular aims to the requirements of united action under Mazzinian leadership. The contributors were in agreement that the Young Europe movement was premature and generally unsuccessful, but they were also in accord in considering its influence important for later developments. The discussion from the floor brought out interesting points on the Young Poland and Young Norwegian movements, and on the relationship of Mazzinian ideas of international cooperation to those generally accepted in the twentieth century.

Lest it be thought that intellectual history held the field exclusively, attention must immediately be directed to two sessions economic in their emphasis. In the one on "Economic Warfare in Three Wars," with Samuel Flagg Bemis of Yale presiding, three suggestive papers focused on this protean subject and its burgeoning significance in the strategy of successive world conflicts. Harold T. Parker of Duke framed a definition of economic warfare, for the entire discussion to follow, as "the use of diplomatic, economic, and financial power, sometimes allied with military and naval activity, to so disorganize the enemy's economy as to impede his war effort." Reconsidering Napoleon's continental system and the countervailing British Orders in Council, in the afterlight of the economic measures of World Wars I and II, he suggested that the British Orders were much better articulated and sustained by the various constituencies of English life and government than were Napoleon's grandiose concepts of policy more arbitrarily imposed on the French economy. Marion C. Siney of Western Reserve pointed out that the early experiments in Allied economic warfare during World War I were undertaken as extension of traditional sovereign and belligerent rights to capture contraband goods and to prevent trading with the enemy. Royden Dangerfield, University of Illinois, concluded that "Economic Warfare in World War II" was not the major Allied weapon but it was a valuable auxiliary, well worth its relatively small cost. James P. Baxter, III, Williams College, in commenting on the three papers, stressed the farsighted complaisance of British Admiralty authorities during the American Civil War as presenting useful precedents for British naval measures during the First World War and gave some useful commentary, out of his own experience in Washington, on the development of Allied (including

American) economic warfare during World War II. The chairman wondered whether the pattern of bipolar warfare between enormous land masses of military power, as compared with major conflicts heretofore between land power and sea power, might not greatly change the future shape of economic warfare, not to mention military strategy.

The session on "The European Working Class: A Comparative View," chaired by John Bowditch of the University of Minnesota, produced an unusually rewarding attempt at integrating, on a European level, labor problems too often viewed solely through national spectacles. The first paper, "The Workers and Organized Religion," by Father Joseph N. Moody of Notre Dame College, Staten Island, offered a wealth of evidence, drawn largely from recent sociological studies, of the estrangement of the urban workers from organized religion, which highlighted at the same time regional and group variations. In conclusion, Father Moody noted an increasing minority of workers for whom religious practice, deprived of social support, was a matter of private conviction; a minority of antireligious militants, usually with Communist affiliations; and a large majority indifferent to religious ideas, for whom the conflict between material objectives and humanist, Christian values created personal and social tensions. The second paper, "Economic Development and Working Class Political Attitudes," by Val Lorwin of the University of Chicago, subjected the predictions of Marx with regard to the working class to a historical analysis based on the changes occurring in the economy of Western Europe in the past two centuries. He attributed the inadequacy of the Marxian hypotheses to differences in the tempo and character of each nation's economic growth and to differences in political institutions, cultural patterns, and national character, subjects that invite further investigation on a comparative basis. Philip Williams of Jesus College, Oxford, and Carl Schorske of Wesleyan University commented on both papers. Williams, applying an empirical approach, pursued a number of points raised by the speakers. He observed that anarchist and syndicalist movements bore a resemblance to the peasant *jacqueries* and flourished in largely Catholic, peasant countries where the clerical split hampered democratic politics, that the "radical occupations" today are often associated with isolation from the towns, a reverse of the isolation once felt by workers in the towns. Schorske brilliantly linked the two papers by showing how the divorce of the working class from religion, typified by the German expression *Religion ist Privatsache* applies as well to modern socialism, which has lost its capacity to evoke a sense of mission and instead operates on the assumption that *Sozialismus ist Privatsache*. A large, appreciative audience urged the speakers to further comments on the comments.

The luncheon meeting of the Modern European History Section, presided over by Herbert Heaton, University of Minnesota, went ultramodern. Walter L. Dorn, Columbia, gave his "Reflections on the Evolution of American Occupation Policy in Germany at the End of World War II." These covered three phases: the

conflicting views about National Socialism and the best way to expunge it from postwar Germany; the failure to evolve a common or coordinated long-term Allied occupation policy; and the painful, tortuous steps by which American policy took shape through a bitter triangular debate. At the angles were the War Department, with its "limited liability" short-term view of its role, envisaging a "short military clean-up operation," a "punitive spasm" that might last two months, by which time civilians would have taken charge of economic and political affairs; the State Department, which tried to look beyond demilitarization, denazification, decartelization, and kindred destructive measures to longer-range interallied policies for remolding the German economy and polity; and the Treasury, dedicated to the "tough" thesis that the root problem could be solved only by the extreme disruption of the German economy and especially of its heavy industry. From first to last, Morgenthau dominated the debate. Because of his personal friendship with Roosevelt he claimed an intimate knowledge of the President's views, and when decisions threatened to go against him he appealed to this court of last appeal, with complete success. In fighting him, the State Department committed incredibly stupid tactical blunders which alienated its natural ally, the War Department. The resulting directive was consequently an exclusively punitive document, painfully negative, which shocked those who had to administer it by its failure to consider the economic realities confronting the Army of Occupation.

At a short business meeting, the Conference welcomed the new editor of the *Journal of Modern History*, Charles Mowat, who enunciated his plans for improving the *Journal* and announced the establishment of the Higby Prize for the best article to appear in the *Journal* during the past year, in honor of Chester P. Higby, a founding father. The first award went to John C. Cairns, University of Toronto, for his article, "Great Britain and the Fall of France."

V

National history came in for attention, although in each case the general theme was sufficiently challenging to avoid the charge that the speakers were merely taking in one another's washing. All told, three sessions treated English and imperial history. The first, chronologically, bore the title of "The Gentry: 1540-1660." A session designed to explore a controversy which has had a notorious, even acerbic, run in England, it was presided over by Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago, in the absence of Wallace Notestein of Yale. J. H. Hexter of Queen's College introduced the "storm over gentry" with a witty appraisal of R. H. Tawney's rising gentry and H. R. Trevor-Roper's declining gentry. Neither of these two had proved his main point: each was the victim of economic determinism—Tawney by his preoccupation with a bourgeois revolution, Trevor-Roper by an undue concern for "the little piggies that went to court and had roast beef and the little piggies that stayed at home and had none." W. R. Emerson of Yale drove a few piles into a quagmire of ignorance by concentrating on "The Machinery and

Methods of Estate Management." *Pace* Tawney and Stone, he gave his reasons for thinking that the early seventeenth century may come to be regarded as "the golden age of the great landholder." He also dispelled some illusions by explaining the essential conservatism of land management in this century.

Perez Zagorin of McGill returned to the political implications in a paper entitled "The Social Interpretation of the English Civil War." After machinegunning Trevor-Roper's maneuvers with the "mere gentry," he offered his own interpretation of the English Revolution. It sounded rather like a compromise between Tawney and Gardiner, with a governing aristocracy becoming progressively bourgeois but the revolution itself obeying no *social* principles. An abridged discussion led to some interesting exchanges about the concept of "class." The session adjourned with the feeling that three very lively papers had done much to restore a sense of proportion.

The Conference on British Studies at a joint session presided over by Goldwin Smith of Wayne State University skipped forward a couple of centuries and concentrated on political history with a paper by Robert B. Eckles of Purdue on "The Character and Management of Political Parties in the House of Commons, 1847-1865." Although this problem has not excited such a storm as that of the gentry, it too has recently been the subject of much investigation. Eckles suggested that the upper middle classes and the aristocracy were much more closely identified in interests and ideas than has usually been believed. To illustrate this meshing and merging, he briefly analyzed the membership of the Commons upon a class basis. He also described the functions of political clubs and party whips and the continued role of patronage and concluded that the years 1847-1865 marked a period of political transition between the aristocratic system preceding 1832 and the entirely different arrangements after 1867. He likewise was of the opinion that the individual members of the Commons were quite independent of their party leaders. Francis Herrick of Mills College criticized Eckles' assumption that statistical comparisons of social and economic groups within their parties leads to a better understanding of their management. While recognizing the less creditable aspects of political life described by Eckles, Herrick emphasized that men who managed political parties and clubs were devoted to conceptions of the public interest which were very real, even if partisan. H. D. Jordan of Clark believed that Eckles had not succeeded in making an effective statistical case that political parties had real meaning in terms of class. In his judgment, Eckles might have explained more fully why the parties, despite experienced leadership, were disorganized and ineffective. He suggested that part of the explanation was the gradual emergence of a democratic public opinion to which members of Parliament were not yet attuned.

In the broader area of British imperial history, with A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota, in the chair, three speakers dealt with the critical period of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr threw new

light on how the Whig cabinet from 1835 to 1837 faced the constitutional deadlock in Lower Canada (Quebec), which blocked British development in the strategic St. Lawrence region. As seen in London, the obstacle to be removed was the obstructive power of the assembly, where French Canadian nationalism was entrenched. In December, 1836, after a year's close study by Colonial Office experts, a plan was prepared that was more drastic than the legislative union of the two Canadas, attempted in 1822 and adopted in 1840. But the new measure was never submitted to the House of Commons, for opposition had arisen in the cabinet and the ministry was dependent on the votes of the radicals and the Irish nationalists, who would never agree to such a measure. The paper by Samuel McCulloch of Rutgers, "A Colonial Office View of New South Wales, 1838-1846," carried further the work of Paul Knaplund in correcting the traditional view of "Mr. Over-Secretary." James Stephen's minutes on the dispatches of Sir George Gipps, who as governor of New South Wales, 1838-1846, wrestled with the great problems of ending penal transportation, the agitation for a more liberal constitution, and the struggle of the big sheep-owning squatters for security of tenure, prove that the undersecretary had a penetrating comprehension of the colony's needs and an important influence in meeting them. In "Racism and the Tropical Colonies, 1833-1852," Philip Curtin of the University of Wisconsin analyzed the gradual transformation in the intellectual background of native policy for the tropical colonies, the dominance of the humanitarians' idealist concept of the Negro yielding to a more realistic view based on experience with freed slaves and on the new science of anthropology. Comments from the floor reflected appreciative agreement with the three papers.

The very active interest in French history was nourished by two sessions. One, under the chairmanship of Gordon Wright of the University of Oregon, considered the "Theory and Function of Political Police in Modern France," a somewhat unconventional topic which drew an audience of about one hundred. The first paper, by David Dowd of the University of Florida, focused on the period of the French Revolution and pointed out that the revolutionary leaders, despite their hostility to the Old Regime's police system, soon felt it necessary to improvise a substitute. At first the initiative was taken by local authorities, but the central government gradually imposed its control. Thermidor brought no weakening of the political police, which developed into a permanent institution within the administrative structure. In the second paper, Howard C. Payne, State College of Washington, addressed himself to the Second Empire. He rejected the common view that Napoleon III vastly extended the political police. Napoleon was no innovator in theory or in practice, merely increasing the emphasis on certain aspects of a theory and practice which by this time had become traditional in France. Much police power remained in the hands of the prefects, who successfully resisted the establishment of a rival Ministry of Police. Within limits, Napoleon did manage to develop a more pliable police instrument by "allying" with the

Gendarmerie. Nevertheless the Second Empire never approached the totalitarian models of our time.

Formal comment was offered by James L. Godfrey, University of North Carolina, and Leo Loubere, University of Tennessee. The former observed that the successful operation of the revolutionary political police depended mainly on the use of denunciation by private citizens and suggested that without such amateur support a political police is likely to be ineffective. The second commentator supported Payne's thesis by arguing that modern French history shows more continuity than change so far as police activity is concerned. Napoleon's dictatorship, far from being a police state, actually resembled other French regimes in that it was essentially an administrative state, with the police absorbed in the general administration. A lively discussion followed, with Beatrice Hyslop and Father de Bertier urging the need for further research in this relatively untilled field.

A quite different aspect of French history marked the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association, which considered the problem of education as an important aspect of church-state relations in nineteenth-century France. Thomas P. Neill of St. Louis University presided. In his paper on "The Church and Education in France, 1815-1848," Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, of the Institut Catholique de Paris, maintained that neither Catholics nor Liberals really wanted freedom of education. Both parties wanted a state monopoly with themselves in control, and they demanded freedom of education only when the other group was in power. Evelyn A. Acomb, State University Teachers College, New Paltz, New York, described the bitter struggle between anticlerical republicans and Catholics for control of the schools in the Third Republic. In the first campaign, from 1876 to 1886, they assured the supremacy of the state in higher and elementary education by the Ferry Laws; in the second, from 1898 to 1904, the Associations Law of 1901 and the Education Law of 1904 prohibited instruction first by members of the unauthorized orders and then by members of authorized orders as well. Discussion leaders were John T. Marcus, Carnegie Institute of Technology, and Joseph N. Moody, Notre Dame College of Staten Island. Marcus felt that Father de Bertier left the impression that Catholics and Liberals formed two monolithic blocs, and he suggested that the speaker should have stressed the divisions among the Catholic and Liberal groups. Father Moody showed that the same factors operated in the Restoration period and the Third Republic and that one must go back to the cleavages created by the Revolution to understand these factors.

One of the most satisfying features of the annual program was the evidence of substantial interest in Italian history. The American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, organized in 1955 at the Washington meeting, held its first joint session with the American Historical Association, with sixty-two in attendance. Howard M. Ehrmann of the University of Michigan presided and brought the greetings of Alberto M. Ghisalberti, President of the Istituto per la

Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. A. William Salomone of New York University explored "The Crisis of Culture and Power in the Waning of the Italian Renaissance." By the latter part of the Quattrocento, a unique "national" civilization had been created in Italy, characterized by a system of power based upon the political and juridical equality of a series of independent *Stati* and by a humanistic-universalist culture which tended not only to bind Italians in an intellectual and ideal republic of the mind and of art but also to diffuse their spiritual energies in ultra-national directions. The long crisis of the Renaissance involved the ultimate impossibility of coexistence for the full-blown universalistic Italian "national" civilization and the emergent order of national culture and power. A disparity of power and the contrast between two different spiritual, only vaguely "ideological," worlds brought on a conflict which opened in 1494 and closed in 1530, calamitously for the Italian system of power but happily not for the Italian forms of culture.

H. Stuart Hughes of Stanford University read a paper on "Italian Sociologismo: The Work of Pareto, Mosca, and Michels in a Quarter Century Perspective." These three have usually been considered together in their common insistence on certain basic notions of human behavior ultimately derived from Machiavelli—the sharp separation between rulers and ruled, the necessary role of force and fraud in government, and the ultimate degeneration of all political groups and institutions. Despite common presuppositions they diverged increasingly in their practical conclusions. Pareto and Michels moved toward a reconciliation with Fascism, while Mosca took up a position of moderate opposition to Mussolini's rule. All were influenced by personal experience of politics. In Mosca's case this was exclusively Italian, while Pareto and Michels were cosmopolitan in origin and outlook. The latter two experienced severe political disappointment and were strongly affected by Sorel's critique of ideological rhetoric. Michels, of a synthesizing mind and the least original of the three, confined himself to the study of such empirical phenomena as political parties. Mosca's approach was uncritically positivist. Pareto's positivistically-based categories proved inadequate to encompass his own penetrating insights into nonlogical conduct, and he ended by reducing these to a series of arbitrary and mechanical generalizations. The ultimate irony of Pareto's work is that it has stood up best in the very area—that of the role of elites in history—in which it most resembled Mosca's and in which Mosca had right of priority. A short business meeting followed the joint session.

As was to be expected from current preoccupations, Eastern Europe came in for consideration. There were three sessions on Russia and one on the Balkans. At the Luncheon Conference on Slavic and East European Studies, with Boyd C. Shafer in the chair, Michael Karpovich of Harvard informally recapitulated "Thirty Years of Slavic Studies" in the United States. He noted the great increase in scholars interested in Slavic speaking nations, but at the same time he felt that there was much room for improvement. Histories of Slavic nations other than Russia fail to receive adequate attention; moreover, in Russian studies, scholarly

interests focus on more recent decades. Thus, Karpovich was much concerned that all Slavic studies should be put into proper perspective both geographically and chronologically. The Conference warmly acclaimed these remarks by a dean of American Slavic historians.

In terms of this survey of achievement and needs, it is relevant to report that two periods of Czarist Russia and an important phase of Balkan history were subjected to scholarly scrutiny. "Russian Society under Nicholas I" was the subject of a session at which Michael Karpovich presided. John S. Curtiss of Duke University, in his paper on "The Role of the Army," emphasized its importance in the administration of the empire. It performed many functions which are not ordinarily associated with the army, such as keeping internal order, guarding criminals, compelling peasants to pay arrears in taxes, etc. This military machine was a heavy drain on national manpower and material resources, and yet, as was shown during the Crimean War, Russia did not obtain in return an efficient army. Nicholas Riasanovsky of the State University of Iowa spoke on "The Role of the Intelligentsia." Pointing out that much had been written on the antagonism between the government of Nicholas I and the intelligentsia, he concentrated on those intellectuals who, for one reason or another, had supported the regime and defended autocracy. Finally, Sidney Monas of Amherst College, in his paper on "Censorship and Public Opinion," dealt with the activities of the political police of the period known as the Third Section of the Imperial Chancery. He traced the attempts of this organization to shape and direct public opinion and indicated the reasons for its ultimate failure. In prepared comment, Peter K. Christoff of San Francisco State College called attention to some positive aspects of the regime of Nicholas I and raised the problem of a more precise definition of the terms "nationalism" and "autocracy" as they were used at the time.

Coming down to an episode which anticipated more recent events, Charles Morley of the Ohio State University presided over a session devoted to "1905 in Russia, Testing Time for Revolutionary Theories." The first paper, which dealt with Sergei Witte as "a revolutionary from above," was read by Theodore Von Laue of the University of California at Riverside. Von Laue explained Witte's failure by his inner conflict between mind and emotion: his head favored political concessions while his heart preferred the preservation of autocracy. The number and gravity of the problems facing Russia at the opening of the century likewise contributed to Witte's failure. Samuel H. Baron, Grinnell College, read the second paper, which analyzed the theories of George Plekhanov as one who favored "a revolution from below." His theories were formulated in the 1880's and did not fit the Russian situation as of 1905. He insisted, for example, on bourgeois-proletarian cooperation despite the fact that the middle class was lacking in revolutionary ardor. As a doctrinaire, Plekhanov was unable to alter his theories or adapt them to the given situation.

Formal comment on the two papers was made by Sidney Harcave of Harpur

College, State University of New York, and Donald W. Treadgold of the University of Washington. Both commentators were in substantial agreement with the speakers, although Harcave pointed out one further explanation of Witte's failure: he believed that Witte had become demoralized in part, at least, as a result of the frustration of ambition. Several members of the audience participated in the animated discussion which followed. Michael Karpovich of Harvard University made the observation that although the revolutionaries knew that the revolution would not conform to their theories because of Russia's peculiar conditions, none was willing to call off the revolution.

A session under the chairmanship of S. H. Thomson, University of Colorado, analyzed the dynamics of Balkan history, 1453-1800. The speakers approached the problem posed by the late appearance of Balkan nationalism from divergent points of view, yet with agreement on the results. L. S. Stavrianos of Northwestern, in "Balkan Orthodoxy to Balkan Nationalism," described the transition in the Balkans from the Age of Theocracy to the Age of Nationalism, showing how the Balkan peoples resisted assimilation by the Ottomans, by means of retention of their Christian faith and settlement in ethnic blocs, and how they were further aided by Turkish indifference to Christianity and the looseness of the Turkish political structure. The rise of Balkan nationalistic sentiment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he attributed to the decline in Ottoman vigor; the replacement of the *timar* landholding system by the onerous *chiflik* system, which irritated the Balkan peasantry; and the expansion of commerce and industry, which in turn created a middle class whose interests ran counter to those of the Ottoman rulers. The very diversity of these factors, however, must be emphasized, since the uprisings among the several Balkan peoples during the nineteenth century were uncoordinated, sporadic, and often in conflict with one another.

The second paper, by Traian Stoianovich of Rutgers, entitled "Balkan Merchants, Officialdom and Bourgeoisies: Prehistory of the Wars of National Independence," approached Balkan nationalism from another point of view. Consulting population statistics and consequent adjustments in supply, trade, and markets, he showed how the "privileged buyers" and certain private traders and trade associations effectively monopolized the increasingly controlled trade within the Ottoman Empire, in the Balkans, and on the Black Sea. This merchant aristocracy had its counterpart in a new class of merchants that rose from the bottom of the commercial scale. These less privileged traders made contact with non-Ottoman buyers through Adriatic ports or at trading points along the Habsburg frontier. A conflict between the privileged merchants whose business was within the Ottoman orbit and the "new" merchants, who were obliged to seek their outlets outside and thus came into contact with Western ideas, was inevitable. In the subsequent wars of independence, the "new" merchants sided with the peasantry, though some of the more prosperous would have accepted the *status quo*. The critics agreed with the general conclusions of the two speakers. Speros Vryonis of Harvard, however,

desired to emphasize the continuity of the *millet* system as a force in the preservation of Balkan nationality. Charles Jelavich, University of California, Berkeley, pleaded for more attention to the Serbian Orthodox Church and to folklore as nationalist forces. In the discussion, a number of points were raised: the ambiguous positions of the Patriarchate and the Latin church under Ottoman domination, the variant intensity of the national movements in different parts of the Balkans, and the role played by the French Revolution in precipitating them.

Although East is East and West is West, the twain do meet. Indeed, so far as the program went they met thrice—in modern Germany and Central Europe as well as in the Middle Ages. The session on modern Germany, with Oscar J. Hammen of Montana State University presiding, centered about “Conservatism in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany.” Sigmund Neumann of Wesleyan University, in “The Role of Political Parties in the Nineteenth-Century Conservative Movement,” pointed out that German parties showed two basic features: an emphasis on *Weltanschauung* and a strong class character. Ultimately, the bourgeoisie became feudalized while realistic conservatism failed to accept a leading role along the lines of a Tory democracy. William Shanahan of Notre Dame University followed with an analysis of “German Confessional Politics and German Conservatism.” Confessional politics early succumbed to a political morality based on nationalism. Catholics and Protestants failed to find a broad common ground, as shown especially in their contrasting attitudes toward the Weimar Republic. Only in 1945 did they come together in a Christian Democratic Union. In “Neo-Conservatism in Twentieth-Century Germany,” Klemens Von Klemperer of Smith College focused attention on the more neglected period following World War I. The conservatives generally turned away from monarchy and attempted to give the Republic a conservative foundation. If the Neo-Conservatives helped to pave the way for Hitler, it was not because of any basic identity of views, since they were inspired originally by the “loftiest tenets of culture.” The comment of John A. Hawgood of the University of Birmingham and of Walter Simon of Cornell University was unusually able in its pertinency, penetration, and good humor. Both commentators lauded the unity of theme shown in the papers. Hawgood suggested the value of a comparison with the current problems faced by liberal movements in Germany. Simon felt that the relationship between conservatism in the different eras needed fuller elucidation.

Facets of “Central Europe in the Twentieth Century” were illuminated at a session presided over by Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester. The audience was more than double the seating capacity of the room. Discussing “Middle Europe, 1890–1920: Aspects of a Society in Transition,” Henry Cord Meyer of Pomona College demonstrated how dominant currents in the Western heritage penetrated into the heart of Europe, only to undergo modification in that peculiar environment and then suffer severely under the impact of the First World War. William A. Jenks of Washington and Lee University examined “Hitler’s Viennese

Milieu, 1907-1913"; he argued that crude anti-Jewish superstitions propagated by a section of the clerical press of the Habsburg capital (which was analyzed in agreeable detail) and a rough, flophouse existence in the community printed an indelible stamp upon the mind and emotions of the future Nazi fanatic. In any multinationality state, democracy western-style can only flourish, Kurt V. Schuschnigg of St. Louis University contended in a paper on "The National Minority Question in Austria before and after 1918," if a large degree of home rule is conceded to the individual nationalities. Switzerland was pointed to as a model, and an ideal. For an integrated confederation of free European nations, such as the *Zeitgeist* imperatively demands, a generous measure of national autonomy would need to be granted. In the main, the commentators endorsed the emphases of the speakers, but M. L. Flaningam of Purdue University questioned whether the milieu of pre-war Vienna differed much from that of many another European metropolis; and Hajo Holborn of Yale University stressed that analogies drawn between Switzerland and other multinationality communities could easily be misleading. Pertinent remarks from the floor enriched the session.

VI

American historians had equal opportunity with their European history colleagues to sample broadly interpretative as well as specialized programs. Of the more general, two deserve particular attention because they dealt with specific topics in a fashion which attracted listeners from all fields.

Though faced with many anniversaries of more than usual appeal, the program committee could not neglect the births of Louis Brandeis and Woodrow Wilson, especially since the latter had so considerably made his first appearance on December 28. Dexter Perkins presided. Paul Freund of the Harvard Law School, formerly clerk to Justice Brandeis, in his paper, "The Liberalism of Mr. Justice Brandeis," described the great justice as one of the "most serenely implacable democrats in all history," as first and last a moralist, "a moralist who by fusing law and morals gave new depth and promise to both." Brandeis sought constantly to keep law abreast of social change, but compassionate and humanitarian as he was, he was also tough-minded in his application of moral judgments to social problems.

The joint commemoration of Brandeis and Wilson does not stand wholly on the happy coincidence of their birth year. The two men were associated in political life and ideals, and it is not the least of Wilson's achievements that he appointed Louis Brandeis to the Supreme Court forty years ago; in doing so he exhibited both imagination and courage. For his part, Brandeis thought that the most extraordinary achievement of Wilson's first administration was the dissipation of the atmosphere of materialism which had enveloped Washington for forty years. As Arthur Link, Northwestern, pointed out in his paper on the contributions of Woodrow Wilson, few men left so large an impact on so many fields of endeavor. Few political leaders indeed had so many different careers. As an author

he helped transform the study of political science; as college president he sought to perpetuate the cultural traditions on which Western civilization rested; as President he initiated democratic policies and proclaimed the ideals of international concord. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that he once presided over the American Historical Association.

Utterly different in its concern, but equally appealing to historians was the session in which Lee Benson, Columbia University, and Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington, attempted to answer the question, "Can Differences in the Interpretations of the Causes of the American Civil War Be Resolved Objectively?" Their paper was distributed in advance of the session, which departed from the usual procedure by being devoted entirely to discussion; C. Vann Woodward of Johns Hopkins University presided. The paper first summarized certain writings of Charles W. Ramsdell, Arthur C. Cole, Louis M. Hacker, David M. Potter, and Allan Nevins. The authors of the paper found that differences between interpretations arose largely from the arrangement of evidence into five distinctive "chains of events" and concluded that they were unable to find any methods by which the over-all differences between the interpretations could be resolved objectively. They suggested, however, that conflict between certain "subinterpretations" did appear capable of objective resolution. As a test they undertook to examine statements of Ramsdell and Hacker concerning the movement to reopen the African slave trade in the 1850's. Again their efforts produced negative results. Benson and Pressly admitted that they did not know whether differences in interpretations of the causes of the Civil War could ever be resolved objectively but thought that the most promising method lay in the use of "objective indexes" to attack differences between "subinterpretations." Three critics discussed the paper. David Donald of Columbia University questioned the choice of historians selected for examination, found the concept of "objective indexes" unclear, and thought the paper pointless and empty of content. David M. Potter of Yale University distinguished between long-range and short-range causes of the war and thought that the authors of the paper had not asked the right questions. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University commended the authors for their insistence on factual analysis but expressed skepticism of the whole effort to achieve historical synthesis by the objective methods of the social sciences.

More specialized sessions lacked neither wide significance nor popular appeal. The meeting on early American history was marked by a good attendance despite competition with the Brandeis-Wilson Commemoration. Walter Muir Whitehill of the Boston Athenaeum presided over the consideration of three independent but significant questions on eighteenth-century America. Max Savelle of the University of Washington, in discussing "The Forty-Ninth Parallel as a North American Boundary," showed that the idea for such a boundary "was born in the office of the Hudson's Bay Company during the afternoon of August 4, 1714." The Company proposed the line in response to a request by the Board of Trade, and

the suggestion was put before an Anglo-French joint commission, meeting in 1719 in an attempt to settle the boundaries between Hudson Bay and New France. French opposition prevented acceptance of the idea, but the line did become "a sort of symbol," revived during later boundary discussions. William M. Dabney of the University of New Mexico contributed a stimulating paper entitled "William Henry Drayton and Henry Laurens in the Continental Congress." Although these two South Carolinians belonged to the same social stratum, they often assumed divergent positions on political and economic issues. Dabney accounted for this situation by showing the extent to which Laurens had tied himself to the "Lee-Adams Junto," which operated against the interests of the South. On the other hand, Drayton's actions were guided by an awareness of a distinct Southern interest. Besides pointing up the development and influence of Southern sectionalism at this early date, the paper contributed to a better understanding of the factional quarrels which plagued the Continental Congress in 1778-1779. The final paper, by Bradley Chapin, University of Buffalo, treated "The American Reception of the English Law of Treason." Chapin noted that although the strict English law of treason served as a model for colonial legislatures and judges, it was liberally adapted to local circumstances without any movement for formal reform. But during the Revolution, the definition of this high crime was restricted by legislative reforms and by the officials who put the law into action until it came to mean only direct and substantial aid to the enemy. This restricted definition, concluded Chapin, was later refined and restated in the federal Constitution. In his critical comment, Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern, pointed up possibilities for further exploration. Several illuminating observations from the floor contributed to the success of the meeting.

A joint session of the Southern Historical Association, under the chairmanship of Robert S. Henry, considered two phases of the history of the South during the period of the Revolution and the Confederation. "The South as a section," declared John R. Alden of Duke University, "appeared with American union during the period 1775-1789." Amendments to the new Constitution were sought, and some were obtained, as a means of protection for the special interests of the South. The central government did not vitally act against Southern interests for some years, Alden added, so that despite the early emergence of the South as a section, "manifestations of Southern sectionalism were relatively few until the Missouri controversy." Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia took up one part of the story of efforts by Southern states to colonize the lands in the West on the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers. The particular efforts, dealt with in his paper entitled "The Yazoo Land Companies of 1789," foundered on the rocks of disputed title to the lands involved, opposition from Spain, objections by the federal government, and finally by refusal of Georgia to receive payment for the lands in the depreciated obligations of the state. Abernethy was careful to distinguish the Yazoo land companies of 1789 from the Yazoo land speculations of 1785. The

interesting discussion was led by Franklin A. Doty of the University of Florida.

Certain issues of "The Age of Jackson" were clarified at a session chaired by Richard N. Current of the Woman's College, University of North Carolina. Presenting "Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period," Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester analyzed the main elements of Whig thought, compared the Whig and Democratic attitudes toward monopolies, and contended that the Jacksonians exaggerated the monopoly danger. He concluded that, as between Whig and Democratic thinking, the similarities were more striking than the differences and that both parties oriented themselves around a middle-class norm (just as the Republican and Democratic parties do today). In an account of "Changing Interpretations of Jackson and Jacksonian Democracy," Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., of Princeton University noted the persistence of Whig and Democratic schools among historians. He pointed out that the Whig view prevailed until the twentieth century and, with respect to some of its features, still has strong advocates despite reappraisals by pro-Jacksonian writers such as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. After describing the flurry of conflicting interpretations which Schlesinger's *The Age of Jackson* aroused, Sellers suggested that the present controversies eventually might yield a new Democratic synthesis to replace the old Whig synthesis. In discussing Van Deusen's and Sellers' papers, William N. Chambers of Washington University stressed the importance of viewing Jacksonian democracy as a "mixed movement." He characterized Thomas Hart Benton as an opponent of large-scale commercial enterprise and indicated that Van Deusen's conception of a Whig-Democratic "consensus" did not apply to the Benton faction of Jacksonians. The session attracted many more listeners than could be accommodated in the room assigned; a considerable number remained standing near the doorway, their interest held throughout by the three unusually fine performances.

In addition to the period and regional sessions, the American historians could attend several of a topical nature. George H. Williams, Harvard, presided over the joint session with the American Society of Church History, in place of Albert C. Outler, Southern Methodist University. James H. Nichols, University of Chicago, in his paper on "The Mid-Nineteenth Century Ecumenical Issue," distinguished, in the generation preceding the Civil War, three movements which would today be called ecumenical. The Restorationist movement sought to cope with the anomalies of divisive sectarianism by making the New Testament the sole basis of Christian fellowship, but ended up as one more denomination. The Evangelical movement sought federation or a reductionist creeded consensus and found its fullest expression in the World Evangelical Alliance. The third movement was the Mercersburg School of evangelical catholicism. Ronald E. Osborn of Butler University, in "Church History and Ecumenism," after defining ecumenism as a historic phenomenon properly matter for historiography, emphasized that many church historians have been tempted by the theologians to go beyond this modest role to convert the whole discipline into an instrument of ecumenicity, thus jeopardizing

its most distinctive "ecumenical" mission of soberly laying bare the nontheological factors in the division of Christendom. He expressed the fear that the new tendency might drive a wedge between church history as it is taught in the universities and as it is taught in the theological seminaries.

Sidney E. Mead, University of Chicago, pointed out that men came to see the value of diverse and mutually corrective denominationalism and that the distinctive value of denominationalism as against sectarianism is that it makes no exclusive ecclesiological claims. Albert Outler, in the absence of H. Sheldon Smith of Duke, recognized that church history was born in controversy and argued that it should now, in an irenic spirit, be a servant of the church and be responsive to the ecclesiastical assignments laid upon it by the believing community. He also deplored the triviality of much monographic scholarship which achieved relative objectivity by isolation from the larger contexts. In conclusion, the session resolved that the Church History Society should consider further the problem of ecumenical historiography.

At another joint session, with the History of Education Society, the topic was equally broad in interest and relevant in appeal. Under the chairmanship of Lawrence A. Cremin, Teachers College, Columbia University, Oscar Handlin of Harvard University presented a paper on "The Immigrant and the Educational Crisis of the 1890's." In it he viewed the high school as the critical point in the American educational system of the 1890's; its development "set the terms within which every other part of the educational system would function." The high school was used by men and women of wealth to counter the feeling of disintegration associated with industrialism and urbanism and to restore a sense of community by disseminating a new officially defined culture among all levels of society. Because this represented imposition from above, the high school contributed significantly to a disjunction between popular and official culture, a disjunction new to American life. While the influence of immigration on these changes was limited, immigrants were widely blamed for this disjunction by those who with Brutus looked "to the stars" to explain their difficulties.

John Higham of Rutgers University criticized Handlin's paper on two principal counts: first, its assumption of an older "golden age of community" in agrarian America which had been shattered by industrialism and immigration, and second, its failure to grant that the structure of public education was clearly in evidence before the Civil War and that the gulf between popular and high culture was already manifest in pre-Civil War high schools. Merle Borrowman of the University of Wisconsin criticized Handlin's contention that the high school defined the role of elementary school and college, pointed to the plurality of functions undertaken by individual high schools during the 1890's, and maintained that the immigrants had exerted a far more profound influence on secondary education than Handlin had been willing to allow. Members of the audience pressed Handlin on his use of terms like "society," "culture," and "disjunction."

A quite different sort of intellectual crisis came in for attention in the session

"The Left, the Right, and Civil Liberties." Fred Shannon, University of Illinois, presided in the absence of David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University. The first paper, by Harold M. Hyman, Arizona State College, Tempe, dealt with "The American Protective League: Amateur Spycatchers of World War I." This league, the brainchild of Attorney-General Thomas W. Gregory, came to number 350,000, organized in more than 3,000 units. For lack of any pro-German plots to uncover, the leaguers got themselves and the federal government in trouble by exploiting their irresponsibility for personal ends. The paper also considered the paradox of an administration deeply enmeshed in the intolerance of the period yet led by men who were repelled by vigilante excesses. George P. Rawick of Cornell University considered "Communism and Youth in the 1930's: A Study of the American Youth Congress." He rejected alike the "twenty years of treason" hypothesis and the denial of even the possibility of any Communist influence on the New Deal. The Communists of America acted as an arm of Russian foreign policy, while the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations served as the basis of an attack on civil liberties. The American Youth Congress, founded by non-Communists, suffered an infiltration of Communists who posed as New Dealers and Popular Fronters. Eleanor Roosevelt and other supporters of the movement, unaware of the Communist influence, helped to win support from innocent enthusiasts. Nevertheless, the implications of disloyalty brought against individual members needs reexamination.

William E. Leuchtenburg, Columbia University, stressed the importance of Hyman's reference to the ambiguity of liberal values among the Wilsonians, an ambiguity illustrated by the career of A. Mitchell Palmer, author of the "red scare" in 1920 and the New Deal platform in 1932. He thought that Rawick had exaggerated the influence of the Popular Front but welcomed the scholarly concern with Communist penetration of the New Deal. Robert K. Murray, Pennsylvania State University, though praising Hyman's paper, would have liked more attention to the environmental causes for the APL. He disagreed strongly with Rawick's "relatively unsubstantiated claim that the Communists *immediately* took over the youth movement," which he thought detracted from an interesting paper.

Foreign influences on American life were examined from another angle entirely by Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, in her after-dinner address, "A Half Century of Evolution in American Diplomacy," to some two hundred members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Wendell H. Stephenson of the University of Oregon presided. The outstanding fact of international relations in the past half century, Dr. Nichols said, was the global challenge to premises of democracy that had gradually gathered adherents over a period of three hundred years. In the twentieth century, astute totalitarian use of ideological warfare placed democracy on the defensive. With advances in technology, public opinion became a strategic weapon, put to unremitting use on a global scale. Thus every nation's internal illusions, engendered by the national state, acquired high importance.

Dr. Nichols stressed, among illusions sharing in American diplomatic policy, faith in the general applicability of the democratic principle, certainty of America's pervasive superiority, assurance that United States economy could solve almost any difficulty with comparative ease, and belief that military force became the defensive tool of first importance. Working within the context of these illusions were such others as faith in moral pronouncements, in quick panaceas, and in paper promises. Unfortunately, failure to evaluate such beliefs critically and to counteract them insofar as desirable and possible weakened the global influence of the Western World. Leadership responsibility for reversing the trend rested with the United States. Fortunately, it had historic identification with the principle of liberty. On this, Dr. Nichols concluded, it needs to build a political consensus within its own nation and with many nations, implementing the principles that interdependence is inescapable and that freedom is indivisible.

American foreign policy also gained attention from three scholars who re-examined some old assumptions. L. Ethan Ellis of Rutgers chaired the session. Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston, explored the "political myth" inhering in "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight," contending that, far from being a Democratic rallying cry in 1844, the slogan only gained currency in the Oregon debates of 1846. He concluded that historians have overemphasized Oregon's importance in the Polk campaign. Robert P. Wilkins, University of North Dakota, dealt with Middle Western isolationism in World Wars I and II and attacked the thesis that North Dakota attitudes stemmed from the ethnic heritage of German immigrants, asserting that it was based rather on hostility toward Eastern business interests, concern for economic advantage, and fear lest war's alarms impede the cause of social justice. Alexander DeConde of Duke, concerning himself with "The Anatomy of Twentieth-Century Isolationism," asserted that the relatively simple isolationism of the nineteenth century became pluralistic, emotional, Utopian, and often inconsistent in the twentieth, while retaining many of its earlier ideological trappings. Comments by Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo and Bradford Perkins, of the University of California at Los Angeles, accepting the Miles thesis on Oregon, raised questions regarding the larger implications of the campaign; they queried Wilkins' emphasis on the unique qualities of North Dakota's isolationism and DeConde's emphasis on the South's tradition of internationalism.

Three sessions dealt in one way or another with American economic development. That on "Two Nineteenth-Century Railroad Leaders: A Comparison and Contrast," under the chairmanship of Ralph W. Hidy, New York University, aroused a pleasing degree of interest. In her paper on "The Early Railroad Career of Erastus Corning," Irene Neu, Southeast Missouri State College, maintained that his "efforts to control large segments of the new transportation medium were not primarily those of a businessman hoping to bring trade to his city nor of a speculator in stocks, but were rather the efforts of a merchant and manufacturer seeking iron contracts." Richard C. Overton, Bureau of Railway Economics, analyzed some

of the characteristics of Charles Elliott Perkins, president of the Burlington System from 1881 to 1901. Though the opportunities of railroading in the late nineteenth century and family connections both served Perkins well, he stood as "one who did his own thinking and made his own decisions," though he never announced them in a public speech at any time in his whole life. In a brief commentary, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., compared and contrasted the behavior and characters of Corning, Perkins, and Alfred Sloan, famed executive of General Motors and latterly the subject of Chandler's research activity.

The joint session on agricultural history, chaired by Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma, dealt with American agricultural leadership in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Weymouth T. Jordan of Florida State University discussed Noah B. Cloud, editor of the *American Cotton Planter*, and his campaign for soil conservation, crop diversification, and agricultural education. He concluded that Cloud was the most energetic agricultural reformer in Alabama in the pre-Civil War period. Roy B. Scott, University of Illinois, described the role played by Milton George in organizing and promoting the National Farmers' Alliance. After about seven years of vigorous activity and leadership on both the local and national levels, George was removed from leadership in 1887 by other Alliance men who believed that he was too conservative. Nonetheless, the Alliance movement continued to show the effects of his work and planning. James H. Shideler of the University of California, Davis, analyzed the struggle for agricultural leadership and power between Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover and Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace in the years after World War I. He emphasized Hoover's attempt to gain control over a larger share of farm marketing activities and Wallace's strong opposition to such a development. The intra-administration fight obstructed the effective farm policies so desperately needed in the early 1920's. In commenting on these papers, John Schlebecker, Iowa State College, raised the question whether the speakers had not been influenced by the great man theory of history. He thought that the development of agricultural reforms, farm movements, and farm policies might have been much the same if the agricultural leaders under discussion had never lived and suggested that they should have been placed in a broader historical context.

At the Luncheon Conference on Agricultural History, Joseph A. Batchelor of Indiana University in the chair, George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, traced the impact of agricultural change on banking in early Wichita, 1872-1876. "These were years of panic and slow recovery on the national scene, but in south-central Kansas they were years of settlement (Wichita, 1868); of growth and expansion; and of transition from the Texas cattle trade to the large scale production of corn and wheat. The boisterous 'cow-town' phase of Wichita's growth was short. The transition to a mercantile center with an extensive hinterland and reasonably complex commercial mechanism was quite abrupt. A significant component of this mechanism was the First National Bank." The Panic of 1873 found the bank

deeply involved in the Texas cattle trade. Various devices of dubious legality had been employed to extend its capacity to participate in this highly risky business. During the rapid growth of the Wichita area, the bank strained its resources beyond the breaking point and again took risks of doubtful wisdom and legality. Failure resulted. The nation at large took a century and a quarter of costly experimentation before a reasonably adequate solution for the financing of crop movements was devised. A spirited question period added information concerning the nature of the illegal practices of the bank and the fact that its failure checked only momentarily the growth of Wichita as a wheat shipping center.

The joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, under the chairmanship of Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota, was devoted to writings on lumber history. Elwood Maunder of St. Paul and Stanley F. Horn of Nashville were to read papers on "The Forest History Foundation" and Seventy-five Years of *The Southern Lumberman*," but information on the session was not supplied in time for this report.

VII

In view of the historic setting of St. Louis, it was appropriate that Latin American studies had a substantial place on the program. The annual meeting of the Latin American History Conference was attended by ninety members and friends. Honored guests were Father Ernest J. Burrus, currently associated with the University of St. Louis; Dr. Javier Malagón Barceló, Pan American Union; and Professor José Luis Romero of the University of La Plata. Conference Chairman, Engel Sluiter, University of California, Berkeley, presided. He announced the results of the annual election of Conference officers: Walter Scholes, University of Missouri, Chairman; Donald E. Worcester, University of Florida, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Jane DeGrummond, Louisiana State University, and Gerhard Masur, Sweet Briar College, members of the General Committee. The Chairman announced that the Essay Committee had recommended that the James R. Robertson Memorial Prize not be awarded this year.

Upon completion of the business session Philip W. Powell, University of California, Santa Barbara, presented a well-received paper, "Portrait of an American Viceroy: Martín Enríquez, 1568-1583." Powell, basing his conclusions on extensive research in Mexico and Spain, described Viceroy Enríquez as a faithful mirror of his king, Philip II, and a good example of that monarch's attempt to provide able, loyal, and paternalistic government for his American realm. Viceroy Enríquez was the alter ego of Philip II during an eventful era in Mexican and Spanish history. One of his first acts as viceroy was to defeat John Hawkins and Francis Drake at Vera Cruz, thus sparking a prolonged and bitter Spanish-English fight on the seas. According to Powell, one of the greatest contributions of Enríquez was the organization of the General Court of the Indies. Enríquez upheld viceregal prestige against the demands of a restive aristocracy. He was a major formulator

of the presidio-mission-colonization pattern of the north Mexican frontier which was so effective in pacifying the Indians of that region. On the occasion of the introduction of the Inquisition into Mexico (1571), he capably kept the opposition to that institution firmly in line.

The Luncheon Conference of American Archivists, with Javier Malagón Barceló of the Pan American Union presiding, listened to a discussion by John P. Harrison of the National Archives and Records Service on "Latin American Archives and the Scholar in the United States." Unhappily, no summary of the paper or other proceedings has been forthcoming.

That scholars had been putting such archives to good use was clear from two special sessions. Under the chairmanship of John Tate Lanning, Duke University, three scholars considered aspects of late Bourbon reforms. Lyle N. McAlister of the University of Florida ("The Militia in New Spain: The Origins of the Praetorian Tradition in Mexico") showed that reforms in colonial administration introduced by the late Spanish Bourbons produced unforeseen and incidental consequences more significant than the reforms themselves. Among these innovations was the creation of a substantial military establishment in New Spain. Unfortunately, privilege and power were not accompanied by a commensurate sense of responsibility and, during the turmoil that followed the abdication of Ferdinand VII, the army emerged as an autonomous and irresponsible institution. This army consummated independence and made itself master of Mexico. Clifton B. Kroeber, Occidental College ("The Buenos Aires Consulado"), confirmed McAlister's thesis that the incidental results of the Bourbon reform were often more significant than the reform itself. The *consulado* conducted its affairs to favor the merchants of Buenos Aires over those of other cities of the La Plata system. It therefore not only looked toward independence from Spain but fostered separatism at such places as Montevideo and laid the foundation for later nationality. Charles W. Arnade of Florida State University ("Tadeo Haenke, 1761-1817") presented the career of a young scientist of the Enlightenment in the extraordinary researches in natural history, especially botany, sponsored by the Spanish crown toward the end of the eighteenth century. Haenke, a member of the famous Malaspina expedition until 1794, was ultimately attached to the intendant of Cochabamba in Upper Peru as a scientist. Though the records of his prodigious research are still lost, some of his published essays show him working capably in an atmosphere of tolerance, upon such subjects as botany, zoology, chemistry, mineralogy, geography, and medicine. To draw out discussion, the chairman asked whether the term "Bourbon" did not lead people to assume that the royal family of France was responsible for all Spanish reform in the eighteenth century. He was more seriously contested when he wondered whether, where money and property were not concerned, there were not many points of reform upon which liberal and conservative in the Spanish Empire agreed. The discussion was exceptionally lively and brought out the existence of a depository of documents relevant to one of the papers.

Political, economic, and literary aspects of nineteenth-century Latin American urbanism were explored in papers prepared respectively by James R. Scobie, U. S. Army, Theodore E. Nichols of Long Beach State College, and Arturo Torres-Rioseco of the University of California, Berkeley, for the joint session with the Conference on Latin American History under the chairmanship of Howard Cline, Library of Congress. In the absence of Scobie, Joseph Criscenti, Boston College, read his contribution which, based primarily on Argentine materials, emphasized political strains created by "supercities," consequences of expanded electorates, nascent political parties, increased public education, and the influx of immigration as elements in politics. Nichols' provocative treatment of economic phases stressed transportation revolutions and their reciprocal effect on urbanization, using Barranquilla and São Paulo as case histories; he raised the fundamental question, "What is a city?" and asked to what extent cities specializing in political, economic, or socio-cultural functions are peculiar to Latin America. Rioseco's paper on urbanism in Spanish American novels of the period was read by Charles Hale, North Carolina University. It identified and discussed in detail seven major problems used by novelists, citing numerous titles and indicating the parallel changes in novel techniques and growth of urban life itself. He warned that in "working with literary documents one must be aware of their shortcomings" as historical sources.

Commentary by Richard M. Morse, Columbia University, developed at length certain lines common to these papers. His noteworthy remarks focused on the "artificiality" of Latin American urbanization, proposing a complementary analytic view of city-hinterland relations and internal aspects of these cities, especially their "premetropolitan" traits. Morse believed that sociological, historical, and literary data indicate "that the city has never been able to come to terms with the countryside, whether in a relation of submission, coexistence or domination."

In an attempt to encourage an ecumenical view of American history the Pan American Institute of Geography and History sponsored an appraisal of "The History of the Americas," with Max Savelle, University of Washington, in the chair. The chairman placed the project in the setting of twentieth-century historiography as a collaborative effort, international in scope, conceived in terms of the whole hemisphere, beginning with the Indians, not the Europeans. He reported that of the three divisions—pre-Columbian, colonial, national—the first and second have now been completed or are nearing completion. The final stage will be a one-volume summary of the entire project with recommendations for further work, by the general chairman, Silvio Zavala.

The appraisal of Bailey W. Diffie, City College, New York, from the standpoint of a Latin American historian, was read by Milton Vanger, Oklahoma A & M College. On the basis of the twenty-odd booklets thus far published as well as the three summary volumes nearing publication, he pointed out imbalances in space and emphasis and criticized alike the uneven quality of the volumes and the concept of the project itself in the minds of the authors. More than this, he

felt that the project assumed a unity in the history of America which did not exist. Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, speaking from the standpoint of a United States historian, found the project of great significance: the presentation of the history of the United States in hemispheric setting places it in perspective. In touching upon the idea of unity, he stressed the existence of two experiences, Latin-American and Anglo-American. His greatest emphasis, however, was on the desirability of attempting to make this a scientific cultural history, with attention to folkways and cultural interchange. In the lively general discussion, many suggestions were made: the need for comparative studies, for simplicity, and for international collaboration and evaluation was pointed out and it was emphasized that in the history of America there were many common denominators and many divergencies. Nevertheless, the consensus was highly sympathetic to the continuance and even elaboration of the present project.

The ecumenical ideal also stood back of a luncheon session on Asiatic history over which Hugh Borton of Columbia University presided. Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, in his paper entitled "New Approaches to Asian History" reported on a conference on Asian history sponsored by the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London. Seventy-five scholars, two thirds of whom were European, considered the problem of historiography in reference to the three areas of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia at a week's conference in London in July, 1956. Furber reported that the papers prepared for this conference will appear in three separate volumes, one for each area. The discussion in the conference centered on such problems as reliability of early sources, political and religious influences on historical writing, and the need to approach the history of Asia from the point of view of Asians rather than Europeans. The speaker noted that many of the Asian scholars present queried the objectivity of European historians when writing about the history of modern Asia. Furber concluded his remarks by noting that the conference had been conspicuously unconcerned with the effect of Communist penetration on historical writing in Asia in the future. As an opportunity for Western and Asian scholars to meet and to discuss mutually significant historical problems, however, it was a great success.

The second speaker, David Rowe of Yale University, reported on recent acquisitions of Chinese diplomatic archives by the Institute of Modern History of the Academia Sinica of Taiwan. He noted that this material covered the period 1850-1926 and that the Asia Foundation had become interested in publishing the most important reference volumes or "Files" on these voluminous archives. The Institute of Modern History, with the financial assistance of the Asia Foundation, has decided to begin publication of this material with the "Files on the Maritime Defenses of China," scheduled for publication in May, 1957. The "Files on Indo-Chinese Relations" have a publication date of January 19, 1958. Rowe distributed a detailed description of this material and stated that this was the most outstanding opening of new material on China's foreign relations in recent times.

VIII

The broad theme of the values and nature of history came in for diverse attention. At the annual dinner of the Association, with Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri as toastmaster, Dexter Perkins dwelt upon the theme "We Shall Gladly Teach." His address, printed in the January number of the *Review*, needs no recapitulation here.

Winners of the several Association prizes were announced by Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize went to Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University for his *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945* (Oxford University Press). The George Louis Beer Prize was received by Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, for his book, *Mitteleuropa in German Thought and Action, 1815-1945* (Martinus Nijhoff). Paul W. Schroeder, University of Texas, was awarded the Albert J. Beveridge Award. His manuscript was entitled "The Axis Alliance and Japanese-American Relations, 1941." Honorable mention went to Clark C. Spence, Pennsylvania State University, for his manuscript, "British Investment and the American Mining Frontier, 1860-1901." The John H. Dunning Prize in American history was awarded to John Higham of Rutgers University for his book, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (Rutgers University Press); and honorable mention was given to John William Ward, author of *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (Oxford University Press), and to Joseph F. Wall of Grinnell College, author of *Henry Watterson: Reconstructed Rebel* (Oxford University Press). David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, received the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize, awarded every five years, for his book, *King James VI and I* (Jonathan Cape).

Oscar Halecki of Fordham, in his presidential address, "The Moral Laws of History," before the Luncheon Conference of the American Catholic Historical Association, reiterated the Christian philosophy of history. He bade his listeners remember that Christ was central in human history and that human history was no mere "parenthesis in eternity." Although Machiavelli and Marx had divorced history from Christian principles, no history which did not accept the reality of God had any validity.

Concern with values also characterized the joint session of the American Studies Association, chaired by Irvin G. Wyllie, University of Missouri, which was devoted to a discussion of the humanistic and scientific approaches to history under the title "Where Do Historians Stand?" Happily, in view of the prevailing room temperature, the session generated more light than heat. The humanist spokesman, Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, conceded much to the social sciences in his paper, "Clio in a Strait Jacket." He urged economic historians to learn from economists, and students of Indian culture to profit by studies in ethnology. He expressed the conviction that the social sciences can improve the validity of historical data, especially that data which lends itself to quantitative analysis.

However, he deplored the efforts of Thomas C. Cochran and others to confine history to that which is measurable: this is the strait jacket in which pure social scientists attempt to confine Clio. History is neither a social science nor a humanity, but rather the indispensable link between the two. Bert J. Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College delivered the second paper, "Clio versus Science: The Dialectics of Confusion," a closely reasoned philosophical defense of scientific humanism. He rejected traditional distinctions which separate mind from matter, assigning the former to the humanities, the latter to science. Science is humanistic, and humanism is scientific, so the contest to decide whether science presents a threat to the humanistic tradition is largely one of words. The notion that science inhibits the scope of history is a misconception: science suggests general postulates which help the historian assign meaning to discrete events. Though there were no formal commentators for this session, there was ample discussion from Frederick D. Kershner of Ohio University, Robert Bremner of Ohio State University, and many others.

On quite a different level but intimately related to the values and teaching of history were three papers presented to some two hundred persons attending the session dealing with "Historians and the Teaching of History," chaired by William H. Cartwright of Duke University. George B. Carson, Jr., Director of the Association's new Service Center for Teachers described the goals and program of the Center. It will publish materials designed to help teachers keep up to date on revisions, interpretations, changing emphases, and perspective in history; arrange conferences among historians, schoolteachers, and administrators for discussion of the school history curriculum; and promote conferences and institutes to give teachers first-hand contact with new developments and interpretations. Hazel C. Wolf, of Manual Training High School, Peoria, Illinois, emphasized the need for historians to take an interest in the teaching of history in the schools. She said that the professional historian must especially be concerned with the training of history teachers for the schools. He must be concerned that only competent historians—people who bring to their classes the understanding, appreciation, and enthusiasm which emanate from a thorough grounding in the subject—be permitted to teach history, and that history teachers for our schools receive that training and inspiration for research which will keep them returning to the documents in a continuing study of history. Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas emphasized the need for university historians to establish close contacts with school history teachers. He accused professional educators of sometimes holding a monopoly over school affairs and blamed university historians for abdicating their responsibility to the schools. He said that universities have shifted their emphasis to graduate instruction and research, and he urged renewed attention to undergraduate instruction and the education of teachers on the part of university departments of history.

Another approach to the same general problem marked the joint session of the American Association for State and Local History, which had for its theme "The

Presentation of History." With Nyle H. Miller of the Kansas State Historical Society presiding, Earle W. Newton, director of state museums and historic properties of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, showing colored slides, discussed "British History in Three Dimensions." He reported that the crushing burden of taxes in the United Kingdom has brought hundreds of historic buildings into the nonprofit, education care of their national trusts. Other properties remain in private ownership but are open to the public for a fee. The British government itself cares for many monuments, including ruins of castles, etc., but no habitable structures.

James Parton, publisher of *American Heritage*, spoke on "The Marriage of History and Journalism." "There is today in America a great reawakening of interest in history. It is not an interest in history *per se* so much as it is an interest in the things connoted by the word 'heritage'—how we got to where we are and how that rediscovery can help us through the difficult problems of the present and the future. One major cause of this recent development has been the increasing *rapprochement* between the two professions of history and journalism. . . . We think of history in terms of people first, dates and battles and administrations last. Furthermore, we are as interested in the little people as in the big. Our 'beat' is to answer the question—What did men *do* there?" *American Heritage* therefore might be called a "newsmagazine of the past." Clifford Lord, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and president of the American Association for State and Local History, closed the session with a review of the objectives of state and local historical societies. He pointed out ways the societies can best serve the public and historians in particular, and he urged more writing of state and local history.

Although more limited in its objectives than the two preceding sessions, the joint session of the American Military Institute was concerned alike with the presentation of history and the merits of a particular stress in history, under the title "Military History—Pro and Con." Richard C. Brown of the New York State University College for Teachers at Buffalo presided. Tyson Wilson of Virginia Military Institute presented "The Case for Military History and Research." He pointed out that more than forty courses in military history are now being taught in American colleges and universities and that there are numerous sources for research aid now in existence. He suggested that more military history material should be introduced into general survey courses in American history. Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., of American University examined the implications of the current popularity of military history in his paper, "A Civilian Caveat." He declared that there are dangers in the broadly inclusive type of military history, pointing out that military history, broadly defined, might encroach upon fields once the province of political, diplomatic, or social history. Such encroachments, he felt, might militarize our historical literature as well as our national life. Comments on the two papers by William T. Hagen of North Texas State College included a dis-

cussion of the difficulty of maintaining objectivity in writing military history because of intra- and inter-service rivalries and an objection to the introduction of military interpretations into general survey courses in American history. Louis Morton of the Army Historical Staff concluded the comments with a summarization of his belief that historians, regardless of the type of history they teach or write, should be servants of truth and humanity. Members of the large audience present contributed greatly to the success of this program through forty-five minutes of vigorous comments, questions, and discussion.

So the report, based almost entirely on the summaries of session chairmen, occasionally enhanced by information from other sources but oftener reduced, concludes. Happily there has been no need for the writer to bear in mind Othello's injunction. Rather he would reiterate what he said at the outset: the meeting offered a fair and, both in outlook and interest, an admirable image of what American historians are doing. Nothing more need be asked.

University of Missouri

CHARLES F. MULLETT

'The Year's Business, 1956

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1956

The profession of history is thriving, the professors are vigorous. Historians are producing articles and books at an amazing rate. They are about to teach more students than ever before. Conscious of the limitations of their research tools, they wish to fashion new ones; knowing of gaps in their knowledge, they desire to fill them; aware of weaknesses in their teaching, they wish to remedy them.

Whether all this activity is worthwhile, only the future historians of history and historians in the United States will be able to judge. If future historians are anything like the present breed, skeptical and tough-minded, they will probably find much to criticize and little to praise. But we cannot foresee the future, and we must, fortunately or unfortunately, proceed without its judgment. Your Executive Secretary and Editor can here report on activities and ideas current in the Association and in the profession at large. He is not a completely objective witness. Very likely he is too immersed in the study of history, too fond of the study and of historians.

For the Association, the year since my last report to you has been a year of transition and change. Whether or not the change has been for the better, we cannot yet know; the outlook is not unpropitious. We are now, after much effort, in our new headquarters at 400 A Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C., a remodeled house that gives us room to move about, space we had not previously had in the study rooms so generously supplied us by the Library of Congress these last fif-

teen years. A new bookkeeper, Miss Rita Shea, has taken the place of Miss Patty Washington who retired after forty-eight years loyally devoted to Association business. Miss Nancy Hall Kane has assumed the position of assistant editor of the *Review*, replacing competent Catharine Seybold who had been with us for twelve years. My secretary, who not only types my letters to you but takes care of the Job Register, is John Paul Yoder, a man of wide experience. Miss Patricia Fox helps Nancy Kane get out the *Review* and sends those requests for book reviews which so many of you receive. We are proud of our new staff. It is happy, intelligent, and hardworking.

These are changes in location, in personnel; there are other changes. Last year we reported that the Ford Foundation had granted \$148,000 for our Service Center for Teachers. That Center, directed by George B. Carson, Jr., is now in operation, preparing pamphlets on the content of high school history courses and annotated lists of books for history teachers, as well as providing consultant services when they are requested. During the year we obtained two other grants from the Ford Foundation, one of \$69,000 for the photographic reproduction of German war documents now in England and the United States, and one of \$96,000 for the long-anticipated bibliographies covering British history. The American Committee for the Study of War Documents, headed by Reginald Phelps, and the Joint Anglo-American Committee on British Bibliographies, on which Stanley Pargellis is our representative, have both plunged into their tasks. For all three of these projects, the Service Center, the War Documents, the British Bibliographies, I can report substantial work accomplished. The War Documents Committee has screened and photographed thousands of pages of German materials. The revisions of two volumes of the British Bibliographies, that for the medieval period (Gross) and that for the Tudor period (Read), are under way. Edgar Graves is doing the first and Conyers Read the second, his own volume.

From the Rockefeller Foundation, we just recently received a grant of up to \$75,000 to realize the long-hoped-for new edition of the *Guide to Historical Literature*. George Howe and his committee on the *Guide* have laid their plans, evolved their outline, and are about to begin the actual editing. For the committees that have worked out and developed these special projects, historians everywhere wish success. Their invaluable efforts will, in the future, deepen the study of history as well as strengthen the profession.

One further accomplishment of the same nature should be mentioned. For twenty-five years, American historians have been promised an index to the *Writings on American History*. An *Index to the Writings. . . , 1902-1940* is printed and should be ready for distribution by the time these words are spoken. David M. Matteson began this index in 1931; in his will he provided funds for its completion, which was carried out by one of our members, William C. Davis, an expert typist as well as scholar and editor.

Other projects are in the making. We hope that some of them will materialize.

We may, for example, try to strengthen South Asian studies in the United States through importation of outstanding scholars in the field. We may soon propose a study of the historical profession with a particular view to our needs in the next ten to twenty years. Of this last, I shall speak later.

These are special projects. What of our customary work, what of those activities which occupy us daily, and I also might say nightly? The Association for seventy-two years has attempted to serve historians, to encourage the study of history. In some ways we succeed, in some ways we fail. Your Executive Secretary and Editor, now a veteran, as he has served his first hitch of three years, is a bit battle-scarred and weary. Much is being done. Much remains to be done. Too often we wish we had the time and stamina to do that which we do better and still have the time and stamina to do more.

Much of the work of the Association, as we all know, is performed by standing committees. When your Executive Secretary assumed his position three years and three months ago, he did not then comprehend the volume of work actually performed by members of these committees, nor did he know that they, almost without exception, receive no compensation other than the satisfaction arising from service to their fellow historians. Again and again this fact ought to be stated: the members of the profession of history are not only loyal to it, they *work* for their profession. May I summarize the activities of the several committees which carry the burden of what I might call our standing duties. My summary may sound prosaic, but it records the generosity and wide range of accomplishments of our most active members.

The Beveridge Award Committee, with Ralph Hidy as chairman, considered thirteen applications and has awarded the prize of \$1,000 plus publication to one volume and honorable mention, which brings publication, to another. Francis Bowman of the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee tells us that the committee received over sixty volumes in European history from which it chose one for its prize of \$200. J. B. Brebner, for the Schuyler Prize Committee, reports that it examined forty-five books in British, British Imperial, and Commonwealth history before it made its choice for the \$100 award. The George Louis Beer Committee, under the chairmanship of Charles Mullett, received eighteen volumes on European international history; from among these it made its choice for the prize of \$200. For the John H. Dunning Prize of about \$140, in American history, Francis Simkins writes that over forty books and manuscripts were considered before the committee decided upon a prize volume and one for honorable mention. This year, because no volume suitable for the Watumull Prize in Indian history was submitted, Taraknath Das and his committee have made no recommendation. The Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee (Raymond Stearns, chairman), with its fund virtually exhausted, could not, unfortunately, assist in the publication of a worthy volume. (See page 771 for winners of prizes.)

From the reports of the prize committee chairmen before me and from com-

ments of members of the Association, several suggestions arise. A tremendous burden of work in reading manuscripts and books falls upon the prize committees. We may need to define the terms of the prizes more narrowly and precisely. In these days of inflation, the monetary size of some prizes hardly warrants the work of the award committees. A good many books and manuscripts are submitted which are either not eligible or insufficiently prepared. Authors ought to be warned that their manuscripts must be in final form for publication and that their books must be scholarly. But, in any case, the historians who receive the awards and all of us who pay honor to our worthy colleagues will express our gratitude to the men who made the choices. Through the years, the books to which the Association has given prizes have usually become "standard" works, points of departure in their fields.

One new prize will be offered in 1957. The Cornell University Press will make possible a biennial Association prize of \$1,500 (plus publication) for a book in American intellectual history, including biography. Appropriately, the award will be called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize.

Our Association committees cover many phases of the study of history. The Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, this year enlarged by three additional historians of American diplomacy, will report separately to the Council and to the Business Meeting upon the State Department publications in the field of history. The general report of the chairman, Edward Younger, tells us that Volume I of our *Annual Report*, the 1955 *Proceedings* volume, is in press (the proof is on the desk of the Executive Secretary at this moment), that the *Writings on American History* for 1951 has been published, that the *Writings* volume for 1952 is in press, and that the volume for 1953 is in preparation. One other major accomplishment of this committee should be noted. In 1955, the committee, along with senior historians in governmental service and your Executive Secretary, asked the Federal Civil Service Commission, by letter and telephone, to reopen the Washington register for historians and again offer examinations. This has been done, we can happily announce.

Waldo Leland, speaking for the Committee on International Historical Activities as he has long and wisely done, reveals how far-flung are the international interests of American historians. One of the members of this committee, Arthur Whitaker, attended the meeting of the Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in Madrid. His report is to be found in the *Review* of October, 1956 (pp. 274-76). Our own committee has presented a critique of the 1955 Rome Congress to assist the Bureau in plans for future congresses. The next Congress of the International Committee will be held in Stockholm in 1960. Historians interested in preparing reports for this Congress are urged to send their suggestions to Donald McKay at Amherst, our representative on the Bureau. Our International Historical Activities Committee keeps us informed on the project for the History of the Americas, on the regular Anglo-American historical conferences held every

summer, and upon all international activities which may profit American historians. There has been, for example, correspondence of interest between the Russian and American members of the Bureau concerning what form cooperation between Russian and American historians might take if such cooperation should be desired, and the committee has formulated tentative recommendations. Our committee also recommends that the United States act as host for the meeting of the Bureau in 1958.

The Committee on Documentary Reproduction, headed by Robert Eckles, submits its usual full report on microfilming done and in prospect. With the Library of Congress, the committee this year began and supervised reproduction of materials in Finland, Japan, and Italy, and next year selected documents of several other countries will be duplicated on film. The Harmsworth Committee, under Carl Wittke, compiled another panel of historians from which Oxford will choose one for its distinguished professorship in American history.

The Association sends representatives or delegates to the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Historical Publications Commission, and the National Council for Social Studies. For the first, the Social Science Research Council, our senior delegate, Roy Nichols, announces the appointment of a third (after those for *Bulletins* 54 and 64) Committee on Historiography, this one headed by Louis Gottschalk. The new SSRC committee will study the methodology of history as history rather than as a social science. The American Council of Learned Societies, Joseph Strayer tells us, has survived and preserved its committee structure. Its financial stringency was temporarily relieved, and there is hope that the Council, somewhat reorganized, will continue to foster humanistic studies in America. Julian Boyd, in describing the work of the National Historical Publications Commission, indicates that work upon the "Guide to Depositories of the Archives and Manuscripts" continues and that the volume ought to appear late in 1957. Some progress is being made, too, on the documentary histories of the Constitution and Bill of Rights and the First Federal Congress. As the newspapers have announced, the papers of President Madison are being collected and will be published in a definitive and full edition. Nothing concrete, however, has been done to "fill the gap" in the *Writings on American History* for the years 1940-1947. From the National Council for Social Studies there is little new to bring you. The Council continues to be active and to publish *Social Education*, the magazine for high school teachers of history which the Association helped start several years ago. Our Association, through Fulmer Mood, has also been of some assistance to Ralph Shaw of Rutgers University, who is preparing a bibliographical work to cover publications during the years at the beginning of the nineteenth century not included in Evans, *American Bibliography*, and Roorbach, *Bibliotheca Americana*.

Of some interest to those seeking historical positions and those wishing to fill them is the Association's Job Register. During the two years of its active operation,

about 600 individuals have registered and between 300 and 400 are on the rolls at present. The Register has been informed of more than 140 positions and, though we have no exact information, possibly thirty or more individuals have found positions through it. The Register needs more publicity than we have been able to give it—time and personnel are lacking. It has justified its existence, but it has not yet fulfilled our hopes for it. Last year at the Annual Meeting, 147 individuals registered and the Register learned of over fifty positions. We are trying last year's experiment again, and the Job Register will again be open at the Annual Meeting in St. Louis. One common offhand comment, "The best people do not register and the best institutions do not use it," has little evidence behind it. Good people are registered and all kinds of institutions from the "Ivy League" to obscure colleges have made use of the service.

Without systematic effort on our part, the membership of the Association slowly increases. It now has nearly 6,600 members, and the *Review*, with the separate Macmillan subscription lists, goes to about 8,300 individuals and institutions. The Treasurer of the Association, Solon J. Buck, reports that we are in a sound financial condition and that we have been able to buy, remodel, and furnish the building for our headquarters without undue strain and without touching our endowment.

May I express the Association's appreciation for Solon Buck's long service. For twenty years, while he has been a distinguished historian and archivist, he has also been our financial watchdog. We have never had a deficit. Solon Buck has served without pay, and he has toiled long and difficult hours, days, weeks. This Executive Secretary can testify both to his devotion to the Association and to his accuracy and his caution in financial matters. With Solon Buck, I have worked upon four budgets, four Treasurer's reports. Never simple, these budgets and reports have become more and more complicated as our activities have multiplied. Every year the Treasurer and the Executive Secretary breathe sighs of deep relief when the work on them is completed. If anyone wants a lesson in precision, let him work with Solon Buck.

Another member of the Association to whom I should like to pay tribute is Frank Maloy Anderson. Professor Anderson, whom we all know as a learned scholar and loyal friend, may be the oldest living member of the Association, having joined it in 1896. This year he will be, I believe, attending his fiftieth meeting.

The *American Historical Review* has become thicker and thicker (Volume LXI, 1,127 pages); one member has accused us of trying to rival the Manhattan telephone directory. We have, it is true, reached the *Review's* limitation in size, perhaps even exceeded it a bit. Our readers tell us that we should not review fewer books (517 this year, 533 last), that we should run more articles (twelve articles plus seven "Notes and Suggestions" this year compared to twelve articles plus six "Notes and Suggestions" last year), and that we might expand in this or that direction, but especially in the "Personal" section (which is now larger than

ever). We cannot expand further, however, without more funds, more assistance in the editorial office. We have not only reached the maximum physical size for handling and mailing, we have perhaps exceeded the physical energies of a willing staff. We can only develop further in one direction—quality. Readers tell us that our reviews of books have grown more critical. This, I think, is true and desirable. They also tell us that they like the type of discussions represented by the essays of Zagorin and Gershoy on Becker in the October, 1956, issue. We hope to continue these when the submitted articles lend themselves to similar discussion. Your Editor has heard from time to time that we publish mostly articles by young men hoping for promotion, few by “authorities” who have “arrived.” It is true that the pages of the *Review* are open to young men as they are to every serious historian regardless of age. It is also true that during the last three years, at least, a sizable proportion of the authors, about a third, have been historians who would generally be acknowledged “authorities,” that is, older scholars who have achieved recognition in the profession.

Once again for the *Review*, I plead for more lively, provocative, and interpretative articles than we receive at present. We received this year 157 essays for consideration, compared to 147 last year. Of these, but a handful attempted to formulate, and test with evidence, new and fertile hypotheses which might enrich our understanding of the past. In American history, may I particularly note, we saw too few top-notch studies and almost none which tried to interpret American history in the venturesome fashion of Tyler, Turner, and Beard. The bold new views that these giants have led us to expect of American historians seem strangely lacking, at least insofar as submitted articles indicate.

Again your Executive Secretary has done a bit of travel. He learned, for example, about the historians of Texas, that American empire of the Southwest, and he has been in Ithaca in the winter, in Durham on a beautiful fall day, and in Pittsburgh on the opening day of the baseball season without seeing the game. Every time he leaves headquarters, he is made aware of problems of teaching and research to be solved as well as the ways various departments are solving them, and he, with much profit to the *Review*, meets historians who are qualified to review books and who wish to submit articles. Travel, according to the cliché, broadens. I should rather say it deepens understanding, increases awareness of problems and possibilities. Of both of these I have been increasingly cognizant.

Is it time in our profession for an assessment of where we are and where we are going in these years of continual crisis? The volume of research in progress is truly astounding. What does it mean, where does it lead? The number of students mounts and will become enormous during the next few years. Are we prepared for them? I hope the Association will sponsor, perhaps with funds from a foundation, a much-needed study of possibilities in the profession. I would hope that this study might concentrate upon graduate school production, graduate school requirements including those of language, and dissertation standards and

quality. But I would also hope the study might ask questions about the relation of present graduate education to liberal education, about the relation of teaching to research and publication, about needs in the publication field, about the possibilities for women in the profession, and about ways and means of making the profession more attractive to able young men and women.

You must not expect your headquarters staff to do this study. It should be done by a committee of highly qualified historians appointed by the Association. The headquarters staff (especially the Executive Secretary) is already pushed to the limits of its physical abilities. If the profession wishes the Association to expand its activities further, it will have to see to it that funds and staff are available. Your Executive Secretary and Editor has many times dreamed of the life of a teacher with time for research and writing. You should expect him to remain something of a scholar, but with his present seven-day week and twelve- to fourteen-hour day, he is exhausted before he can crawl to his own study to read a book or write a page. If the Association is to do more, to further enlarge its program, it will have to provide the means.

This is an age of change, of transition in the world and in historical study which is part of this world. Where are we going? Can we use our historical knowledge to help both our fellow citizens and ourselves? It is for us, for you and for me, to build and furnish the structure in which the historians of the next ten to twenty years may freely roam, teach their students, produce their studies. This is a time of transition, but if in large measure it is an age of destruction, it is also an age for construction. In this construction, though some ideals are waning, those of scholarship must stand firm. In this period of easy negation, let us be the ones to affirm those rights to critical inquiry and humanistic study bequeathed us by historians and philosophers from Athens to Florence, Rotterdam, Paris, and London, by Herodotus and Socrates, Erasmus and Guicciardini, Voltaire and Hume—and I might add from our own America, by Jameson, Becker, and Ford.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary and Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SHERATON-JEFFERSON HOTEL,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 27, 1956, 10:00 A.M.

Present: Dexter Perkins, President; William L. Langer, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary; Carl Bridenbaugh, Walter L. Dorn, Herbert Heaton, Mrs. Helen Taft Manning, Robert Palmer, Richard C. Shryock, Walter Prescott Webb, C. Vann Woodward, Councilors; Merle Curti, Louis Gottschalk, former Presidents.

President Perkins called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1955 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1956, issue of the *Review* (pp. 804-11).

The Executive Secretary's report was not read as it had previously been sent to members of the Council. The Executive Secretary commented briefly upon various Association matters. He indicated that membership of the Association had increased to 6,577 (last year, 6,310). He pointed out the increase in work being done by the Association headquarters staff and asked that the Council consider additional staff. The Council authorized the Executive Committee of the Council to act on the recommendations of the Executive Secretary in this respect and established a maximum financial limitation.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, Treasurer, read sections of the report of his office for 1955-56. He singled out certain items for the Council's particular attention and indicated that the Association's assets had again increased. He stated that expenditures during the year for housing the Association were well within the savings of the last five years. He explained certain changes which had been made in the nature of the Association's report and suggested that the Council might care to appoint an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, a position provided for in the Constitution. Dr. Buck concluded with the announcement that he would no longer be able to serve as Treasurer of the Association after 1957, and he asked that the Council take appropriate steps.

For the Finance Committee, Dr. Buck summarized the budget proposals for 1956-57 and 1957-58. The Council unanimously approved small expenditures for the past fiscal year which exceeded the budget allocation for 1955-56, struck from the budget a proposed investment for 1956-57, and increased the subventions for the Local Arrangements Committees of 1956-57 and 1957-58. The approved budgets, in addition, carried certain salary adjustments for the office staff.

Professor Max Savelle of the University of Washington, Vice-President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the Association and 1956 representative of the Branch to the national Association, reported on the activities of the Branch for the past year (see page 791).

After considerable discussion of the costs involved in attendance at Council and committee meetings, the Council asked that the Finance Committee study the question of travel charges and allowances for members of the Council attending the annual meeting.

The Executive Secretary reported for the Committee on Committees, and the Council approved new members for the various association committees. These are listed below:

Committee on Committees.—C. E. Black,* Princeton University; Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina; Edward C. Kirkland, Thetford Center, Vermont; Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on Harmsworth Professorship.—Carl Wittke, Western Reserve University, chairman; William C. Binkley, Tulane University; William Stull Holt,

* New member this year.

University of Washington; Stow Persons, State University of Iowa; C. Vann Woodward,* Johns Hopkins University.

Committee on Honorary Members.—Felix Gilbert, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Hugh Borton, Columbia University; Sydney N. Fisher, Ohio State University; Charles E. Odegaard, University of Michigan; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Ralph E. Turner, Yale University; Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.—Edward Younger, University of Virginia, chairman; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Malcolm Carroll,* Duke University; Wood Gray, George Washington University; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Dexter Perkins, Cornell University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on International Historical Activities.—Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., chairman; Garrett Mattingly, Columbia University; Martin R. McGuire, Catholic University; Donald C. McKay, Amherst College; Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Bernadotte F. Schmitt, Alexandria, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Documentary Reproduction.—Robert B. Eckles, Purdue University, chairman; William R. Braisted, University of Texas; Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois (ex officio); Richard W. Hale, Jr., Wellesley College; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Charles Mullett,* University of Missouri; Fred Rodkey, University of Illinois; C. Easton Rothwell, the Hoover Library; Clifford K. Shipton, Worcester, Massachusetts; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.—Henry Hill, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Harold Grimm,* University of Indiana; Henry R. Winkler, Rutgers University.

American Committee for the Study of War Documents.—Lynn Case, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl J. Friedrich,* Harvard University; Oron J. Hale, University of Virginia; George W. F. Hallgarten, Washington, D. C.; Hans Kohn, City College of New York; Harold Lasswell, Yale University; Koppel Pinson, Queens College; C. Easton Rothwell,* the Hoover Library; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio); William O. Shanahan, Notre Dame University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California; Sidney Wallach, New York.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.—Joseph J. Mathews, Emory University, chairman; Stuart Hughes, Stanford University; Carl E. Schorske,* Wesleyan University.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.—John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College, chairman; Arthur Link, Northwestern University; Richard Overton,*

* New member this year.

Manchester Depot, Vermont; Walter V. Scholes, University of Missouri; Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.—Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Richard N. Current, Woman's College, University of North Carolina; Richard P. McCormick, Rutgers University; R. J. Rath, University of Texas.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.—Earl S. Pomeroy, University of Oregon, chairman; William Hogan,* Tulane University; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.—Edward Dumbauld, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chairman; Zechariah Chafee, Harvard University; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George L. Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark DeWolfe Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey; Julius Goebel, Columbia University; David J. Mays, Richmond, Virginia; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize.—Helen Taft Manning, Bryn Mawr College, chairman; Giovanni Costigan,* University of Washington; Garrett Mattingly,* Columbia University; Charles Mowat, University of Chicago.

Committee on the Job Register.—Roderic H. Davison, George Washington University; Aubrey Land,* University of Nebraska; Charles G. Sellers, Jr., Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on South Asian History.—Holden Furber,* University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle Curti,* University of Wisconsin; Robert I. Crane,* University of Michigan; David Owen,* Harvard University; Earl Pritchard,* University of Chicago; Boyd C. Shafer,* Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on Teaching.—Sidney Painter, Johns Hopkins University, chairman; William Cartwright,* Duke University; Clement Eaton,* University of Kentucky; Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; Francis Keppel, Harvard University; Agnes Meyer, Washington, D. C.; Edith Starratt, Sherburne, New York; Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University; Boyd C. Shafer, Washington, D. C. (ex officio).

Committee on the Watumull Prize.—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Robert I. Crane, University of Michigan; Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania.

As Association representatives, the Council elected Joseph Strayer of Princeton University to the American Council of Learned Societies; David Potter of Yale to the Social Science Research Council; and Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University to the National Historical Publications Commission.

The Council turned its attention to questions arising out of the work of the Association's committees. The Executive Secretary explained that the funds of the

* New member this year.

Carnegie Revolving Fund Committee were almost exhausted. The Council decided to continue the present committee and establish an Association revolving fund with the remaining monies and any further funds which might be obtained for this purpose. The Fund has published thirty-five volumes during the last twenty-eight years from the original grant of \$25,000.

After extended discussion of the terms of the various prizes awarded by the Association, the Council asked that a committee of three be appointed to study all questions concerning these prizes, including the terms of the original grants and changes made in these terms, and that this committee report its recommendations to the Council.

The Council accepted the proposal of the Cornell University Press for a new award, to be called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize, and decided upon the appointment of a committee of five for it. This prize of \$1,500 plus publication will be awarded for the best work in manuscript in the field of American intellectual history (including biography). It will be offered in 1957, but along with all other prizes will be considered by the new committee before a final decision is reached for the period beyond 1957.

The Council considered at length and in detail the administrative arrangements for the American Committee for the Study of War Documents and the Council's tentative proposals for funds to continue its work (for a report of the Committee's recent activities, see page 792). At the conclusion of the discussion, the following motion was passed without dissent:

The Council of the American Historical Association applauds the accomplishments of the American Committee for the Study of War Documents in the photographic reproduction of German war documents. The Council looks with favor upon continuation of this photographic reproduction of German war documents. However, it will not sponsor another request for funds unless the committee is reorganized on the same lines as other Association committees and unless all funds are controlled directly by the Association.

A request of the Committee on South Asian History for a grant to bring historians of South Asia to the United States was given lengthy analysis. The Council looked with favor upon the purpose of the proposal, but it asked that the request be again referred to the Committee for recommendation on three questions: (1) whether three historians should be brought each year or whether the number might vary each year; (2) whether the terms of the visiting professors should be limited to one year; and (3) whether the Committee believed after further consideration that the American Historical Association was the best sponsoring agency.

The Council accepted the recommendation of the International Historical Activities Committee that two United States delegates be sent to the meeting of the Assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences in 1957, and that an approach be made to a foundation for funds to bring the Bureau of the ICHS to the United States in 1958.

For the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Edward Younger, the chairman, made an extended report. The Council unanimously recommended that the following report and resolutions of this committee be put before the Business Meeting:

Report on State Department Publications.

At the 1955 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, the Council proposed and the Business Meeting passed a resolution, charging the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, enlarged by three historians of American foreign policy, to study the problems connected with State Department publications and to report back to the Council and Business Meeting in December, 1956.

In compliance with this resolution, your Committee has been enlarged to include Thomas A. Bailey, Samuel Flagg Bemis, and Richard Leopold, and your Committee, after extensive consultation and study of the problems involved, submits the following report:

1. The volumes of *Foreign Relations* published since inception of the series in 1861 have been found by the historical profession a highly useful instrument of research, notably improving in recent decades in scope, content, and scholarly standards.
2. The Committee hopes that this series will be continued on an expanding scale commensurate with the expansion of our foreign relations and that added appropriations for this vital work will be made by Congress.
3. We urge that the *Foreign Relations* volumes, including the *Supplements*, be published in chronological sequence. Only in this way can the documents be judged in historical context, free of contemporary partisanship.
4. We welcome the State Department's decision to appoint an advisory board of scholars in the field for its Historical Division and to make this board directly advisory to the Secretary of State.
5. Valuable as the State Department's publications have been, the Committee believes that the needs of historical scholarship can be satisfied only as long as all scholars of established ability and integrity are given access to unpublished government documents, subject to the legitimate requirements of national security.

Resolution on Access to Public Records.

WHEREAS, the American Historical Association believes that the historical profession can provide an objective analysis of past experience only by means of a full and free examination of surviving records, therefore be it

Resolved, by the American Historical Association that in a free society all qualified persons engaged in responsible historical research should have access to all public records, subject only to reasonable regulations to safeguard the documents, permit the operational use of current records by governmental agencies without undue inconvenience, ensure the national safety, and protect the private character of living persons.

Resolution on Hunter-Miller Compilation.

WHEREAS, an authoritative edition of the treaties and other international acts of the United States is indispensable to the practice of international relations and the effective pursuit of historical study, therefore be it

Resolved, that the American Historical Association deplores the discontinuation

of the Hunter-Miller compilation of the treaties and other international acts of the United States and urgently requests that the project be actively resumed and carried to completion as soon as possible.

On request of the State Department, the Council decided to select a panel of six historians from which the State Department will choose three for its advisory board. The panel is to be chosen by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.

The Council confirmed the appointment of Mildred Campbell of Vassar as the new member of the Board of Editors to replace David Owen of Harvard, whose term expired this year.

The renomination of Percy Ebbott for membership on the Board of Trustees was confirmed.

The following plans for the Annual Meetings of the next three years were approved: December 28-30, 1957, The Statler, New York City; December 28-30, 1958, The Mayflower, Washington, D. C.; December 28-30, 1959, The Conrad-Hilton, Chicago. For 1960, the Council recommended reconsideration of place and asked simply that the meeting be held in some eastern city if satisfactory arrangements could be made. For 1957, the Council approved Oscar J. Falnes of New York University as Program Chairman and Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University as Local Arrangements Chairman.

The Executive Secretary reported on the arrangements for the new headquarters building in Washington, D. C. Professor Shryock, as Chairman of the Executive Committee and member of the Finance Committee, spoke of his visit to the new building, remarking that its acquisition, remodeling, and furnishing constituted a major accomplishment and the fulfillment of an urgent need.

The Executive Secretary spoke of the need for further action by Congress to raise the Association's charter limitation on real and personal estate. A second request for Congressional action will be made in January.

The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to present an amendment to the Constitution to eliminate mention of a specific sum for student dues.

After a discussion of the services rendered by the Job Register, the Council reaffirmed its decision of last year to increase the initial registration fee of \$2.00 to \$3.00.

The Executive Secretary brought to the attention of the Council the new volume entitled *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902-1940* and announced the decision to sell copies to individual members of the Association for \$5.00 and to nonmembers and institutions for \$10.00—prices much below the cost of the volume.

A proposal of Taraknath Das for the Taraknath Das Fund to offer a new Tyler Dennett prize was referred by the Council to the new committee on prizes.

The Council favored a proposal of the Executive Secretary for a study of the historical profession as indicated in his annual report. It approved the appoint-

ment of a committee of three to formulate a definite plan and define objectives.

A proposal to change the time of the Business Meeting to a period after lunch of the second day of the Annual Meeting met with favor on the part of the Council, but it referred the proposal to the Association Committee on the Program.

The Council appointed the following persons as members of the Executive Committee for 1957: C. Vann Woodward, chairman, Helen Taft Manning, William L. Langer, Robert R. Palmer, Solon J. Buck, Boyd C. Shafer. The Finance Committee will consist of Solon J. Buck, C. Vann Woodward, and Boyd C. Shafer. The Council appointed Robert R. Palmer and William Prescott Webb as the Committee on Resolutions.

A proposal by members of the Association for advice from the Association on centennial celebrations was referred to the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government.

A proposal of Waldo Leland for a bibliography of the works of Franklin Jameson and for the publication of a collection of his writings brought varying views. The Council decided that up to \$200 from the Matteson Fund might be expended for a descriptive bibliography but that at this time it could not make any commitment for a volume of selected writings.

The Council referred to the Business Meeting without prejudice a proposal for a resolution to support the establishment of the American Museum of Immigration.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, SHERATON-JEFFERSON HOTEL,
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, DECEMBER 29, 1956, 4:30 P.M.

President Dexter Perkins called the meeting to order with about 250 members present. The minutes of the last meeting (*AHR*, April, 1956, pp. 811-13) were approved.

Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, Executive Secretary of the Association and Managing Editor of the *Review*, presented his annual report (see pages 774-81). The Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck, outlined the financial condition of the Association from the mimeographed report distributed to members attending the meeting. Dr. Buck noted that the ordinary financial assets of the Association amounted to approximately \$697,000; that the Association headquarters at the end of the fiscal year were valued at about \$36,900; and that foundation grants totaling approximately \$130,000 were made available during the year. He indicated that the receipts of unrestricted funds exceeded ordinary disbursements by about \$13,900 during the fiscal year. The Treasurer's report was accepted; it will be printed in the *Annual Report* for 1956.

Upon Council renomination, Percy Ebbott of New York City was unanimously elected to the Board of Trustees for a term of five years.

Dr. William C. Binkley, chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1956, presented the nominations for 1957: for President, Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University; for Vice-President, Professor Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas; for Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck of Washington, D. C. The Executive Secretary, on motion, was instructed to cast one ballot for these nominees and they were declared elected. Dr. Binkley announced that, as a result of the mail ballot for members of the Council and Nominating Committee, Professor Crane Brinton of Harvard University and Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library were elected to the Council for the regular four-year terms; that Professor James B. Hedges of Brown University was elected to the Council for an unexpired term of three years; and that Professors Thomas B. Abernethy of the University of Virginia, Kenneth M. Setton of Pennsylvania, and Caroline Robbins of Bryn Mawr were elected to the Nominating Committee. Dr. Binkley stated that Professor Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University would be chairman of the Nominating Committee in 1957. The Nominating Committee's report was accepted.

The Executive Secretary reported upon the actions taken at the Council Meeting on December 27 (for an account of Council actions, see the Minutes on pages 781-88). In his remarks, the Executive Secretary pointed particularly to the establishment of a Committee on Prizes which will examine the terms of all awards and make recommendations concerning them to the Council; to the establishment of the Moses Coit Tyler Prize in American intellectual history and biography for 1957; and to the plans for a study of the historical profession.

For the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Professor Edward Younger of the University of Virginia reported upon the action of this committee concerning State Department publications (for his report and resolutions, see pages 786-87). Younger's report was accepted and the Association approved the resolutions.

An amendment to the Constitution, authorized by the Council, to place authority in the Council to fix the amount of student dues was defeated on a voice vote after considerable discussion.

For the Pacific Coast Branch, Professor Max H. Saville of the University of Washington gave the annual report which indicated an increase in membership, a comprehensive program at the 1956 annual meeting of the Branch, and the good financial condition of the Branch (see page 791).

For the Committee on Resolutions, Professor Robert Palmer of Princeton read the following resolution:

Resolved: That the American Historical Association extend its thanks and appreciation to Professor Charles F. Mullett and his fellow members of the Program Committee for the preparation of a varied and interesting program, to Professor Ralph P. Bieber and his associates on the Committee on Local Arrangements, and

to all their assistants and volunteer workers, for their many labors in bringing about a pleasant and memorable meeting in the city of St. Louis.

From the floor, Professor Edward W. Fox of Cornell University presented a motion for a mail ballot to allow members of the Association to state their preference for September or December as a time for the Annual Meeting. The motion was defeated by a narrow margin.

Professor John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College presented a resolution endorsing a national appeal for funds to establish the American Museum of Immigration. He asked that the American Historical Association endorse the project and commend it to teachers of history. This resolution was passed.

In accordance with the custom of over thirty years, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson rose to present a motion for adjournment. He prefaced his motion with remarks concerning the previous meeting of the Association in St. Louis in 1921. The meeting was adjourned at 5:55 p.m.

BOYD C. SHAFER, *Executive Secretary*

American Historical Association

The 1957 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in New York City, December 28-30, at the Statler Hotel. Oscar F. Falnes of New York University is the program chairman and Erling M. Hunt of Columbia, the local arrangements chairman.

Ray Billington of Northwestern University is chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1957. He will welcome suggestions from members of the Association for the office of Vice-President, two Council members, and two members of the Nominating Committee.

The American Historical Association will offer a new prize in 1957. Called the Moses Coit Tyler Prize, the award will be of \$1,500 plus publication for the best manuscript in American intellectual history, including biography. The Cornell University Press is providing the funds out of money available to it and will publish the manuscript. A new committee to judge the manuscripts has been appointed; Professor Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin, is the chairman. Communications concerning the prize should be sent to the Association office, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C., or to Professor Curti. Manuscripts will be received until September 1, 1957.

The Association has published the long-awaited *Index to the Writings on American History, 1902-1940*. Begun many years ago by David M. Matteson, the distinguished indexer and bibliographer, the *Index* was completed by Professor William Columbus Davis of George Washington University. By his will, Mr. Matteson provided the funds for the compilation. In order to partially recover

printing costs, the Association will sell the volume of 1,115 triple-columned pages at \$5.00 to individual members and \$10.00 to nonmembers and institutions (these prices are far below the total cost of production). The *Index* should be ordered through the Association headquarters. A limited number of copies is available.

Members of the Association may receive, without charge, the *Annual Reports* of the Association, which now consist of two volumes, *Proceedings* and *Writings on American History*. The *Proceedings* volume, which summarizes Association activities for a calendar year, generally appears about a year after these activities have taken place. The *Writings* volume, which intensively covers a year's writings in American history, generally appears four to five years after the year covered. The last-published volume of the *Writings* is for 1951; the 1952 volume is in press, the 1953 volume in preparation. The *Annual Report* volumes are published through the Smithsonian Institution by the Government Printing Office. Back issues may be purchased from the GPO or received through Congressmen, who are entitled to free copies. Members of the Association, not now on the list to receive the volumes without charge through the Association, may have their names added to the list by writing to the Association office at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C. Because the number of copies printed is limited, the Association list cannot be extended indefinitely, and members now wishing to be added to it should write immediately.

The forty-ninth meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held at the University of Oregon, Eugene, December 27-29, 1956. More than 150 people attended the sessions, despite difficulties of weather and transportation and the lure of going to the national meeting at St. Louis. The program and local arrangements were in the hands of committees headed by Donald E. Emerson and Robert W. Smith.

Many of the sessions were concerned with the traditional problems of pushing the historical frontier ever forward. There were panels on England, the United States, Latin America, and Continental Europe. Two sessions analyzed questions raised by science, religion, and labor as power forces in society. The Thursday evening session was devoted to history and the behavioral sciences, with A. L. Kroeber, Seymour M. Lipset, and Leonard Krieger participating in giving papers and Karl W. Deutsch and W. Stull Holt acting as commentators.

At the annual dinner Friday evening, President Peter M. Dunne spoke dramatically and well upon his favorite theme: "The Renaissance and Reformation, A Study in Objectivity: Legends of Black and White." The audience sensed that this might be Father Dunne's last public address, for he was waging a battle against cancer (which took his life twenty days later). At the annual business meeting, with President Dunne in the chair, reports were presented from the secretary-treasurer and the managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*. On behalf of the board of editors, Earl Pomeroy announced the reelection of John W. Caughey as managing editor for 1957 and of August Frugé as business manager.

Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch of the AHA for 1957 are as follows: Max Savelle, President; John W. Caughey, Vice-President; John A. Schutz, Secretary-Treasurer; Leland Creer, University of Utah, William Greever, University of Idaho, Francis Herrick, Mills College, Wilbur R. Jacobs, University of California at Santa Barbara, T. A. Larsen, University of Wyoming, Donald W. Rowland, University of Southern California, Benjamin Sacks, University of New Mexico, W. H. Stephenson, University of Oregon, and Herbert J. Wood, State College of Washington, Council members.

The President announced that the 1956 award of the Branch was given to Dr. Betty Unterberger, of the Liberal Arts Center, Whittier College, for her book, *America's Siberian Expedition, 1918-1920* (Duke University Press). The Louis Knott Koontz Memorial Award for 1956 was given to Leonard J. Arrington of Utah State Agricultural College for his article in the *Pacific Historical Review*, "The Mormon Colton Mission in Southern Utah."

The 1957 meeting of the Branch will be held at the University of San Francisco, December 27-28; program chairman is Professor Raymond Muse of the State College of Washington.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *Secretary-Treasurer*

The American Historical Association's American Committee for the Study of War Documents has undertaken large-scale microfilming of captured documents at Alexandria, Virginia, and at Whaddon Hall in England. The Alexandria project, headed by Dr. Gerhard Weinberg, is being conducted in the Departmental Records Branch of the Adjutant General's Office. By January, 1957, this project had produced about 400,000 frames of film. Included in this material are extensive records of the NSDAP from its origins to 1945. There are the records of the *Reichsinstitut Sven Hedin für Innerasienforschung* for research on Central Asia, the *Deutsche Akademie München* for German cultural propaganda abroad, the *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* in Cracow, which played an important role in the German occupation of Poland, and the *Akademie für Deutsches Recht*, which aided in the formulation of German law according to National Socialist principles. A group of records of the *Reichskommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*, pertaining to German resettlement activities in World War II, has been entirely filmed. Several small but valuable groups of documents of leading Nazis, including Hitler, Göring, Himmler, and Ritter von Epp are now on film, and the film of the records of the Smolensk Oblast Communist Party has also been included in the materials sent to the National Archives. Current filming is concentrated on the German Ministry of Economics and on a group of records dealing with German economic interests in the Far East. The National Archives has prepared a guide sheet for purchasers and users of American Historical Association film.

The Whaddon Hall project, supervised by Professor Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan, has as its purpose the microfilming of the pre-1920 files of the captured German Foreign Ministry Archives and the publication of a

catalogue of files for the years 1867 to 1920. The filming completes the work done in this field by the tripartite powers (Great Britain, France, and the United States) as well as that of some other governments and of a series of universities. Owing to the initiative of the Committee, the gaps left in microfilming the pre-1914 documents were filled just before these documents were shipped back to Germany. Screening and microfilming of the 1914-1920 files are now under way, and work will start shortly on the catalogue. Negative reels are being deposited at the National Archives.

The Committee is further pursuing the aim of making the microfilms of captured German documents available to scholars in this country and abroad and indexing the material for their use. The *Guide to Captured German Documents*, published in 1952 under the direction of Fritz Epstein and Gerhard Weinberg, is at present being brought up to date. The *Supplement to the Guide* is being prepared by an editorial board, on which the Hoover Library is represented (George W. F. Hallgarten is ex officio head of the board). It is hoped that the *Supplement* will be published before the end of this year. An interlibrary exchange of microfilms is being made possible through the cooperation and generosity of the universities which have procured the original films (negatives) or are holding positive copies. Among these are the University of California at Berkeley (568 reels of which 98 are available as positives), the University of Michigan (ca. 150 reels [positives] plus ca. 400 reels representing positives of the Committee's films made at Whaddon Hall), Florida State University (150 reels, negatives), University of Pittsburgh (339 reels, representing positives from reels of the University of California), North Texas State College (214 positives of the same kind), and Tulane University (at present one positive). A set of positives made from the Committee's negatives deposited at the National Archives, intended to be given to a Western university, will likewise be available for this purpose. The Committee hopes for funds to make positive copies of certain additional stocks of films available to other depositories in the United States and abroad.

The Committee is also selecting documents to prepare a small printed reader, to be used by history and German departments for teaching purposes. It is making an effort, in cooperation with the Committee on Library Resources, to assist in setting up a project for microfilming all major German and East European German language newspapers of the Weimar period.

In view of the danger of duplication of research work, brought about by the increasing use of identical microfilms by many scholars, an exchange of information on research in progress, based on captured German documents, appears desirable. All scholars in this and other countries at present preparing publications of this type are invited to inform the Committee (in care of the American Historical Association headquarters) of their projects.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of General "Fighting Joe" Wheeler (1836-1906), the distinguished soldier who was first a Confederate General and later a General of the United States Army, have been placed in the Library of Congress by his granddaughter, Mrs. John LeGrand. They number about 75,000 pieces and provide a record of General Wheeler's long and active career, beginning with his student days at West Point and extending through his service in the Civil War, his business ventures and legal practice, his years in the United States Congress (1881-1883 and 1885-1900), and his military service in the Spanish-American War.

A valuable addition to the Library's materials of aeronautical interest is the gift by Mr. Grover Cleveland Leoning, prominent aircraft engineer, of about 11,000 of his papers, covering the years from 1910 to 1940. The extensive personal and business correspondence includes a brief exchange with the Wright brothers and numerous letters to and from Admiral Richard E. Byrd. There are also reports, photographs, blue prints, drawings, and a series of clippings which deal with many aspects of aeronautics.

Col. Henry Breckinridge, prominent lawyer and assistant secretary of war during President Wilson's administration, has presented to the Library more than 2,000 of his papers, which cover the period 1913-1945. They consist primarily of correspondence and speeches. Several hundred papers relate to his government service from 1913 to 1916, and there is material relating to his campaign for a seat in the United States Senate in 1934 as a candidate of the Constitution party and to his part in the 1936 presidential campaign of the Republican party. These papers form a valuable supplement to the Library's extensive holdings of Breckinridge family papers.

Vice-Admiral Emory Scott Land, USN (Ret.), has presented his papers, which date from 1903 to 1952 and number about 5,000 pieces. They include correspondence, speeches, occasional brief diary notes, and photographs, and relate chiefly to Admiral Land's service as assistant chief of the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics, 1926-1928, as chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, 1932-1937, as chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, 1938-1946, and as administrator of the War Shipping Administration during World War II.

The United States Department of State has deposited in the National Archives 554 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office relating to the Weimar period. The bulk of the collection consists of microfilms of documents in the files of the German Foreign Minister's office and the State Secretary's office. The data sheets describing these materials have been microfilmed by the National Archives. Inquiries concerning the purchase of copies of these microfilms should be addressed to the National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C.

The International Commission for the Bibliography of the Vatican Archives has been given official status through the signing of agreements between the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences and the Italian Central Council for Historical Studies. The commission is concerned with an analytical listing of the documents published by the Vatican and those kept in the Vatican archives. It was in operation before World War II but had to cease its activities for want of funds. Funds for the work have now been obtained through the combined efforts of Pope Pius XII, the Italian Central Council for Historical Studies, and the Union of Institutes of Roman Archeology, History and Art.

Columbia University has made arrangements to purchase the papers of John Jay, Secretary of State during the Confederation and first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The collection comprises nearly 2,000 items written by 250 individuals, including John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington. Five unpublished letters of Washington are in the collection.

Julian P. Boyd, editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, has announced the availability of a guide to the location of some 60,000 documents and letters written by or to Thomas Jefferson that are to be found in several hundred public and private repositories. His editorial office has prepared fifty-one reels of 16mm. film of all its alphabetical, chronological, bibliographical, and source cards. This microfilm copy of all the editorial control files will be an aid to scholars during the years that the editorial work on the Jefferson papers is being carried forward. The film has certain limitations in that the control cards were prepared specifically for use by the editorial staff of the Jefferson Papers and do not conform to normal standards of bibliographical, library, or archival practice. Positive copies of the film have been presented to the following institutions: Princeton University, University of Virginia, Massachusetts Historical Society, Missouri Historical Society, University of Chicago, and the Henry E. Huntington Library. They are available on interlibrary loan, and additional positives may be purchased from the Photoduplication Department, Library of Congress.

Through a Ford Foundation grant, the Library of Congress, acting in collaboration with the Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association, is microfilming the diplomatic notes of the secretary of state of Finland to the tsar from 1809 to 1917. This is part of a long-range microfilming program drawn up several years ago by a special committee for the Library of Congress and the American Historical Association. A copy of the microfilm will be sent to the Library of Congress, where it will be an important addition to the materials on Finnish history.

The Ford Foundation has made a grant of \$100,000 to the University of Wisconsin for studies in the history of American philanthropy. Extending over a

period of five years, the studies will be under the direction of Merle Curti, Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of American History, assisted by Irvin G. Wyllie, formerly associate professor of history at the University of Missouri, who will devote half time to research in the history of American philanthropy. The project is intended to encourage monographic research, in part through fellowships to graduate students who will prepare dissertations (along the lines suggested in Curti's article in the January, 1957, *Review*, pp. 352-63) at the University of Wisconsin.

The American Council of Learned Societies will receive on July 1, 1957, from the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, grants for a five-year period totaling \$3,100,000. These grants, beyond the cost of maintaining a central establishment, will be devoted to fellowships, grants-in-aid, the promotion of the humanities in secondary schools, the holding of scholarly conferences, and the maintenance of foreign relations in the humanities. At the New York meeting of the ACLS, January 22-25, 1957, Frederick H. Burkhardt, now president of Bennington College, was elected president of the Council. After July 1, the ACLS will have its principal office in New York City. On or after this date, the ACLS will make specific announcements concerning its enlarged program.

The newly-elected officers of the Society of American Archivists are as follows: Lester J. Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, President; Herbert Angel, The National Archives, Vice-President; Dolores C. Renze, State Archivist of Colorado, Secretary; William Overman, Firestone Archives, Treasurer. Editor of *The American Archivist* is Philip G. Bauer, The National Archives.

A new quarterly journal, to be called *Victorian Studies*, will be published this year at Indiana University. It will be devoted to the examination of English culture during the period extending approximately from 1830 to 1914. *Victorian Studies* will serve and promote an interdisciplinary interest by publishing articles in all the humanities, arts, and sciences; by publishing reviews of books from all relevant fields; by serving as a forum for the discussion of controversial questions; and by publishing the annual interdisciplinary Victorian Bibliography together with other bibliographic services. Communications should be addressed to The Editors (Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff), *Victorian Studies*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Twenty German historical research institutes (including historical commissions, but not historical seminars of universities) in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are listed by Walther Kienast in the September, 1956, issue of *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, the organ of the German Association of History Teachers. Exact information is given on their origins and history, present staffs, completed or intended publications, and available research grants.

The History of Science Society held its annual meeting on December 28–29, 1956, at the Hotel Governor Clinton in New York City, in conjunction with the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In the first of four sessions, a symposium held jointly with Section L on the History and Philosophy of Science, Dr. Cyril S. Smith, Director of the Institute for the Study of Metals of the University of Chicago, spoke as a practicing metallurgist but stressed the long past of metallurgy as an empirical science; Dr. Frederick Kilgour, Librarian of Yale University Medical School, discussed the “History of the Wave Concept from Vitruvius to Newton and Huygens”; and Professor John J. Beer of Hanover College, Indiana, gave a case history of a German dye plant in his paper on “Coal Tar Dye Manufacture and the Origins of the Modern Industrial Research Laboratory.” Papers were presented at the second session by Professor Marie Boas of Brandeis University, “Some Considerations on the History of Seventeenth-Century Chemistry”; Professor Thomas S. Kuhn of the University of California at Berkeley, on “The Caloric Theory of Adiabatic Compression”; and by Lee M. Pearson, Scientific Historian of the United States Navy Department, Bureau of Aeronautics, on “The Role of the U. S. Navy in Creating a National Agency for Aeronautical Research.”

Papers included in the last two sessions, related more particularly to the inter-relationship of scientific theories of antiquity and those of succeeding centuries, were “The Impact of Archimedes on Medieval Science,” by Professor Marshall Clagett, University of Wisconsin; “The Medieval Theory of Supposition,” by Dr. Curtis Wilson of St. John’s College in Annapolis; “Whose Authority Dominated Medieval Science?” by Professor William H. Stahl of Brooklyn College; “The Transition from Egyptian to Greek Medical Theory,” by Dean Saunders, University of California School of Medicine; “The Hippocratic Treatise, *Airs, Waters, and Places* in History,” by Professor Genevieve Miller, Western Reserve University; and comments on the contents of a tract entitled “De Complexionibus” by Professor Emeritus Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University. Professor Pearl Kibre of Hunter College served as chairman of the program committee.

Among other highlights of the meeting were the brief account by the visiting scholar Dr. Aydin Sayili of the University of Ankara, of a manuscript containing a mathematical solution by the ninth-century Thebit ben Corat; the report at the annual luncheon by Dr. I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University on the International Congress of the History of Science held in Florence; and the award of the Ida and Henry Schuman Prize in the history of science to Chandler Fulton, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, for his paper, “Vinegar Flies, T. H. Morgan, and Columbia University.” The annual dinner featured addresses by Dr. Dorothy Stimson, retiring President of the History of Science Society, and Dr. Henry Guerlac, retiring Vice-President of Section L.

The fourth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the cosponsorship of the department of history of Harvard University, June 24 through August 2, 1957. Designed for col-

lege graduates who are interested in a career in archival, museum, and historical society work, the course is open also to employees of institutions in these fields. Students will devote full time to the study of archival and historical resources and their relation to the interpretation of history. With a staff of eighteen or more experts, the course will be under the direction of Lester J. Cappon, Director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. Two full-tuition scholarships of \$200 each are available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

Alliance College (Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania): Emanuel Nodel appointed associate professor. *Harris Teachers College* (University City, Missouri): A. B. Bender on leave for 1956-1957 to prepare a study on the Apache Indians for the United States Department of Justice in connection with Indian claims. *University of California* (Berkeley): Robert E. Burke, head of the Manuscripts Division of the Bancroft Library, on leave for the year to teach at the University of Hawaii. *Columbia University*: Richard B. Morris on leave for the spring semester to be Carnegie visiting professor at the University of Hawaii. *Hofstra College*: Robert A. Davison appointed associate professor. *Hunter College*: Georgiana P. McEntee promoted to professor and Marie Vagts to assistant professor. *Michigan State University*: Gerald E. Critoph, of Colgate University, appointed instructor in social science. *Oregon State College*: Leonard Adolph appointed to the staff. *Purdue University*: Walter O. Forster and George H. Mayer promoted to professors. *Rutgers University*: Edward R. Tannenbaum appointed assistant professor. *Saint Mary's University* (Halifax, Canada): John MacCormack appointed professor. *West Virginia University*: Donald S. Barnhart appointed associate professor, and Robert L. Johnson, Jr., assistant professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Conrad Peterson, professor emeritus of history and government at Gustavus Adolphus College, died on July 20, 1956, in St. Peter, Minnesota. Born in Sweden in 1880, he received his B.A. from Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, in 1901 and his Ph.D. from Yale in 1906. He had served as professor of history and government at Gustavus Adolphus from 1908 until his retirement in June, 1950. He was a life member of the American Historical Association.

¹ The Review prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Edward Schuster of New York City and Alfred Esberg of Los Altos, California, both life members of the Association, recently died. Mr. Esberg joined the Association in 1904, Mr. Schuster in 1912.

Isaac Joslin Cox, professor emeritus of history at Northwestern University, died after a long illness in San Antonio, Texas, on October 31, 1956. Professor Cox was born in West Creek, New Jersey; he graduated from Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire, in 1892 and from Dartmouth College in 1896. For six years after his graduation, he taught at San Antonio Academy in Texas before studying for two years on a Harrison Fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1904. Throughout his life he retained a deep devotion for San Antonio Academy and taught there as opportunity permitted, even after retirement. In 1948 he published a study on William Belcher Seeley, the founder and first principal of the Academy. Cox's college teaching began in 1904 at the University of Cincinnati, where he remained until 1919 when he went to Northwestern University as professor of history. It was at Northwestern that he became known as an outstanding teacher and major scholar in the field of Latin American studies. His interests were wide and his published works include studies of the West Florida controversy, 1798-1813, the Burr Conspiracy, the Colombian Treaty, and a well-known translation of Luis Galdames' *History of Chile*. He was a member of the seminar conference on Hispanic America held in 1935 and contributed to the published report the section devoted to Chile. Among his many historical articles are contributions to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopedia Americana*, the *American Historical Review*, and the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He was chairman of the department of history at Northwestern University from 1927 to 1941, when he retired from active university work. His interest in scholarship was continuous, and he pursued researches and maintained interest in writing and lecturing until ill health made such activities impossible for him.

William Edward Lunt, an authority on English constitutional and papal financial history, died in Bryn Mawr, November 10, 1956, at the age of seventy-four. He had been living in retirement on the campus of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, where he had held the chair of the Walter D. and Edith M. L. Scull Professorship of English Constitutional History from its establishment in 1917 until his retirement in 1951. Born in Lisbon, Maine, he graduated from Bowdoin College in 1904 and received his M.A. from Harvard the following year. He was a traveling fellow in Europe for Harvard in 1907 and again in 1911, earning a Ph.D. in 1908. He taught history at the University of Wisconsin from 1908 to 1910. During the next two years Professor Lunt held the Thomas Brackett Reed professorship of history and political science at Bowdoin, and from 1912 to 1917 he taught English history at Cornell University.

His *History of England*, first published in 1928, is a standard textbook in many

colleges and universities. His two volumes on the financial history of the papacy established his reputation among scholars in this field. The first, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, was published in 1934. *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* appeared in 1939. At the end of World War I, Professor Lunt was chief of the Italian division of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace set up to establish Italian treaty boundaries.

He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and held honorary degrees from Bowdoin, Princeton, and Haverford. From 1951 to 1954, he was president of the Mediaeval Academy of America. He was a member of the Royal Historical Society, the American Historical Association, and the American Society of Church History. Between 1945 and 1947 he served on the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*.

Benjamin Platt Thomas, one of the foremost authorities on Lincoln, died in Springfield, Illinois, on November 29, 1956. Born in 1902 in New Jersey, he graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1924 and obtained the Ph.D. degree there five years later. His studies for many years centered upon Lincoln and his biography, *Abraham Lincoln* (1952), was acclaimed as the outstanding one-volume work on the Civil War President. His numerous other books included *Lincoln's New Salem* (1934), *Portrait for Posterity: Lincoln and His Biographers* (1947), and *Theodore Weld, Crusader of Freedom* (1950). A genial gentleman, his scholarship and his literary ability brought him the general acclaim and respect of his fellow historians.

Robert J. Kerner, one of the leading figures in Slavic historiography, died November 29, 1956. Born in Chicago in 1889 of a Czech family, Kerner received his A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of Chicago, in 1908 and 1909. He continued his studies at Harvard under the guidance of Archibald Coolidge and received his Ph.D. in 1914. During the next fourteen years, he taught history at the University of Missouri and, as a member of the Colonel House Commission from 1917 to 1919, participated in the deliberations that ultimately led to the establishment of an independent Czechoslovakia. In 1928, Dr. Kerner joined the history department of the University of California at Berkeley, where in 1941 he became Sather Professor of History and in 1948 the first director of the Institute of Slavic Studies, which he had organized. In 1943, in recognition of outstanding scholarship, he was elected faculty research lecturer.

Owing in large part to Professor Kerner's indefatigable efforts, California became one of the acknowledged major centers for Slavic studies. Excelling as a teacher, strict and exacting in research, he was as demanding of his students as he was of himself. While at the University of California he guided over thirty students to their doctoral degrees and impressed upon them that the degree signified a state of mind, an attitude towards knowledge, rather than the mastery of facts within a certain area of learning. Dr. Kerner was a colorful and dramatic lecturer

who fired generations of students with enthusiasm, while imparting to them many of his basic concepts. A scholar of broad historical views, he developed the neglected areas of Balkan and Far Eastern history, particularly with reference to Russia. He had an uncanny ability to reduce complex data to fundamental facts and relate them to the current scene. He insisted upon the importance of knowing the foreign languages of a given area of historical investigation; much of the stimulus for the serious study of Slavic and Oriental languages in this country can be traced to his influence.

Professor Kerner's interests and scholarship are seen in his major publications, dedicated to interpreting the Slavic peoples to the English speaking world. His first important work was *Slavic Europe* (1919), a bibliography that has not been superseded. His *Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century* (1932) was a major contribution to the history of the Czechs, a people for whom he felt a warm sympathy. Another definitive work was *The Balkan Conference and Balkan Entente* (1935, with H. N. Howard), a volume dealing largely with Yugoslavia and demonstrating Kerner's view that the unity of the Balkan peoples was indispensable to their salvation. Then came *Urge to the Sea* (1942), a highly imaginative interpretation of Russian history, which with the works of two of his students, G. V. Lantzeff's *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century* and R. H. Fisher's *Russian Fur Trade*, was recognized even by Soviet scholars. His work in Far Eastern history culminated in *Northeastern Asia: A Selected Bibliography* (two volumes, 1939). After the outbreak of World War II, Kerner inaugurated the *United Nations Series* (ten volumes); he contributed essays to three of the volumes, *Czechoslovakia* (1940), *Poland* (1945), and *Yugoslavia* (1949), and edited those on Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In Professor Kerner's death, his students have lost a loyal friend and a keen critic and the Slavic field has lost one of its American pioneers and outstanding scholars.

Vincent M. Scramuzza, Roman historian, died on December 3, 1956. Born in Sicily and educated in the Liceo at Monreale, he received his A.M. at Louisiana State University in 1924 and Ph.D. at Harvard in 1929. He taught at Smith College from 1930 to 1952, being appointed to a full professorship in 1940. His prize-winning thesis, written under W. S. Ferguson, was published as *The Emperor Claudius* in 1940 and is recognized as the leading study of the subject in any language. To Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of the Roman Empire*, Volume III, he contributed a learned section on his native Sicily. Among his lesser writings is a series of powerful reviews, which should be inseparable from the volumes reviewed. Scramuzza was beloved for being unfailingly generous and kindly, a man of deep and disciplined feeling, a spirit of true simplicity and quietude.

Claude Carson Smith, professor of history and political science at the University of Nevada, died December 12, 1956, in Reno, at the age of sixty-two. A native

of Tennessee, he received his B.A. from Carson-Newman College following service overseas in World War I. His Ph.D. was received from Stanford University in 1947. After teaching a short time at Kansas City University, in 1929 he joined the faculty of the University of Nevada, where he remained until his retirement in October, 1956. Recognized as an authority on Nevada politics and government, he delivered numerous speeches before public gatherings and contributed articles to professional magazines, but it was in the classroom that Dr. Smith won greatest acclaim. Few instructors at the University of Nevada had the opportunity to meet and influence so many students; none used his abilities to better advantage, a fact attested to not only by the continuing popularity of his classes but by the esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues.

Thomas Waverly Palmer, Jr., associate professor of history at Boston University, died in White Plains, New York, on January 12, at the age of thirty-six. Born in Chile, he was an authority on Latin America and had recently been named coordinator of Latin American studies at Boston University. A Phi Beta Kappa at Amherst, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. in history from Columbia University. He lectured at Yale University and at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University and recently completed a book on the Latin American policy of the United States.

Peter Masten Dunne, S. J., died in San Francisco on January 15, at the age of sixty-seven, shortly after completing his term as President of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. From 1934 to the time of his death, Father Dunne headed the history department at the University of San Francisco and, in 1956, the University rewarded a career of twenty-five years of distinguished teaching and scholarship by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa. Father Dunne received his doctorate at the University of California under his close personal friend, the late Herbert Eugene Bolton. His scholarly output included several highly esteemed volumes on various phases of the Jesuit colonial story in northern Mexico. Chief among these was his *Black-robes in Lower California* (1952). He remained active in the classroom until the time of his death, although he had been in failing health during the past year. A host of former students and colleagues will always honor the memory of an indefatigable and careful scholar, a genial but exacting teacher, and a man whom all admired and respected.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As the *American Historical Review* publishes much of the very best material on Italy appearing anywhere (this is recognized in Italy, as many an American traveler and Fulbright Fellow can testify), please allow us to comment on E. P. Noether's and S. H. Hughes's recent articles on Italian history.

1. While Emiliana P. Noether's "Italy Reviews Its Fascist Past: A Bibliographical Essay" (July, 1956, pp. 877-99) furnishes a workmanlike and useful list of books, for which all readers should be grateful, the framework of her article and her evaluation of a number of books and their authors seem to leave much to be desired. As for the framework, we find that although she proposes to deal with books published since 1944 "with few exceptions," the exceptions include only works by anti-Fascists, but none whatever by Fascists and historians of the first rank, such as Gioacchino Volpe. As for evaluations, the following may be remarked. Dealing with such figures as Albertini and Salandra, she is hard on Salandra and men like him for collaborating with Fascism and hoping to "use" it for their own ends, yet she asserts, contrary to fact, that Albertini from the "very first" refused to support Fascism.

Is it sufficient to say that the chief value of Amerigo Dumini's book lies in the account it gives of Matteotti's death, and not be told that Dumini was the principal protagonist in the kidnaping and horrible demise of Matteotti? Is it much good merely to mention a book by Zuccarini, another by Rocca, and yet another by Magistrati, and not be told that the first is an archrepublican, the second a Fascist, an anti-Fascist, and a Fascist in turn, and the third the brother-in-law of Ciano? In similar instances, too numerous to enumerate, we are given the title of a book but no key to the political philosophy, affiliation, character, or, if you will, "prejudice" of its author.

Her remark that Aldo Garosci's *Storia dei fuorusciti* "falls short of being a comprehensive treatment of the subject matter, for, as the title indicates, it concentrates on the nuclei of opposition outside of Italy" is very wide of the mark; by its very meaning, the history of "fuorusciti" can deal *only* with nuclei of opposition outside of Italy.

2. H. Stuart Hughes's "The Aftermath of the Risorgimento in Four Successive Interpretations" (October, 1955, pp. 70-76) attempts to say too much in too little space and is more in the nature of an interesting conversation than of a historical judgment. With reference to "the historical writing of the immediate post-Fascist period," Professor Hughes writes: "And it was symptomatic of the time that the most inclusive reassessment of the era 1860-1900, Emilio Sereni's *Il capitalismo nelle campagne*, should have been written by a Marxist historian. This highly critical, sociologically oriented, and consciously pro-peasant-and-worker viewpoint remains the dominant historical attitude toward the decades in question. Nearly everyone who has written on internal Italian history in the past few years, myself included, has cast his work to a greater or lesser extent in this mold." Now Sereni is much more than a Marxist historian—he is a long-time Stalinist Communist. There is a world of difference between such a Communist and a Marxist. It is very wide of the mark to say that "nearly everyone" has written in the manner Mr. Hughes describes. Mr. Hughes discusses the post-World War II works by four historians (Jemolo, Chabod, Mario delle Piane, Salvemini). All of them are anti-Fascists. There is no mention of a single Fascist historian like Volpe, who has continued his indefatigable historical writing since the war.

Far more serious is the failure of Mr. Hughes to perceive that the distinctive interpretations he attributes to the postwar historians on subjects such as the "oligarchic nature" of the pre-1913 parliamentary state, church-state relations, and the functioning of the parliamentary monarchy, are not distinctive at all, but "old saws" and the patrimony of the best historical thought long before the end of the war was in sight. This grave misinterpretation points to the danger of re-

lying so much on current, postwar historical writing as to lose complete awareness of the historical perceptions of those whose thoughts continue to live in historical consciousness and cannot be condemned to oblivion.

Alassio, Italy, and New York, New York

MICHAEL R. SEVERIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Severin is, of course, entitled to his opinion, but after reading his comments, I can only suggest that perhaps he might do well to reread my article more carefully and in a more objective frame of mind. Most of his criticisms find their rebuttal in the text of the article itself.

In particular, as a historian (such I assume he is), Mr. Severin should not lift phrases out of context. His "with few exceptions" reads as follows: "A few exceptions will be made for works which, though published earlier, have been considered sufficiently important to be republished since 1944, often in much enlarged form."

Weston, Massachusetts

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I think that the following comments cover Mr. Severin's main points:

1. I do not object too strenuously to the characterization of my modest efforts as "interesting conversation," although I confess that it sounds a trifle more informal than what I had in mind. My piece was not intended to be an article—it was aptly described by the rubric of *the American Historical Review* under which it appeared: "Notes and Suggestions."

2. Of course I am aware that Sereni is a Communist. But it did not seem necessary to mention this fact. In his *Il capitalismo nelle campagne*—aside from the customary genuflections to Lenin—he says nothing that a non-Communist (or non-Stalinist) Marxist might not have written.

3. "Nearly everyone who has written on internal Italian history," etc., is obviously an overstatement. I bow before Mr. Severin's literal mindedness.

4. It was no accident that all the authors mentioned were anti-Fascists. The simple fact is that the vast majority of Italian intellectuals (including historians) fall into that category. I might add that those I cited represent at least three divergent schools of anti-Fascism. Had I known of a Fascist historian with something as interesting to say as they had, I should have included him. (Volpe I have never found very interesting.) Theoretically, I have always contended that there is no reason why a first-rate Fascist intellectual should not exist: I have simply never found one.

5. I am also aware that many of the "new" things these post-1945 historians have to say are at the same time "old." But that is precisely the point: the circumstances of the postwar period have enabled Italians to rediscover and to see in a new focus the familiar (and frequently half-forgotten) features of their late nineteenth-century heritage.

Stanford University

H. STUART HUGHES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The writer believes that it is pertinent to make some comment on Professor Hitti's review of *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, edited by Professor von Grunebaum, which appeared in the July, 1956, *Review*. This review tends to give the reader a somewhat inaccurate conception of the volume's contents. The opening statement ends with the phrase, "the contributors to this volume are

largely anthropologists." The fact is that *none* of the sixteen contributors falls under this classification—the nearest being the French sociologist, Le Tourneau. To name a few exceptions, there are: Minorsky, a historian orientalist; Schacht, an orientalist specializing in Islamic jurisprudence; Bernard Lewis, an orientalist historian; Ettinghausen, an Islamic art historian; and, certainly, von Grunebaum does not claim to be an anthropologist.

This work is published as a part of the series entitled Comparative Studies in Cultures and Civilizations, under the editorship of Robert Redford, an American anthropologist, and Milton Singer, but it was written by nonanthropologists to explain Muslim civilization. A more detailed review, written by Kenneth Cragg, is available in the Summer, 1956, issue of the *Middle East Journal*.

University of Michigan

GORDON H. TORREY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

By that strange trick which the human mind at times plays on the hand, your reviewer wrote "anthropologists" when he thought he was writing "philologists." The term was used in contrast with "historians." But almost all the contributors were identified by name and university and, within the limited space allotted, their theses were summed up. The one man Mr. Torrey singles out as "French sociologist"—Le Tourneau—holds the chair of "histoire de l'occident arabe" in Algiers.

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor W. F. Albright, in his review of my book *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Modern Scholarship* (AHR, October, 1956, pp. 103–104) wrote: "Zeitlin brings arguments which belong for the most part in courtrooms and debating arenas, and which have little to do with serious scholarship." My contentions against the antiquity of the scrolls are based on verbal terms which were used in the scrolls and which we know positively came into usage among the Jews during the Middle Ages. Again, the references to the *halokot*, Jewish laws, in the scrolls show that they were not composed in the pre-Christian period, since we know definitely that these laws were enacted after the destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., at the end of the first century of the Christian era.

Again, I called attention to the fact that the authors of the scrolls used parentheses to indicate that the words enclosed therein were not to be read, ellipses to indicate that the author omitted words, and connecting lines to show the connection between two words. The practice of using these signs was not known to the Jews in the pre-Christian period. They came into vogue much later. Do these matters belong in the courtrooms or in the halls of learning?

Professor Albright emphasizes the importance of the carbon test of the flax "from which was made the linen in which the scrolls of Cave I were once wrapped." None of the archaeologists ever saw the scrolls wrapped in linen; they were brought to the Archbishop in a bag. The late Professor Sukenik bought scrolls, and they were *not* wrapped in linen. The story that the scrolls were wrapped in linen came from the Oriental merchants. Why has the carbon-14 test not been applied to each of the scrolls?

Dropsie College

SOLOMON ZEITLIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his reply to my review, Professor Zeitlin has provided several confirmations of my judgment as cited in his first paragraph.

Johns Hopkins University

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

Editor's Note

This editor was told the other day by a superficial observer that the study of history was soon going the way of the classics. As a historian, the editor is skeptical of prediction. As an editor, the historian recognizes the fact that historians write increasingly for narrowing groups of specialists. As the number of professional historians is small, perhaps 7,000 to 8,000 in the United States, and as the number of specialists in each of the various fields is necessarily much smaller, the audience for a historian's writings may be small, and their publication sometimes proves difficult. Could it be true that the historian might think oftener than he does of G. M. Trevelyan's plea that history should be written to be read?

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Founded in 1884

Chartered by Congress in 1889

Principal Office

400 A STREET, S.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. Present membership ca. 6,600.

MEETINGS: An annual meeting with a three-day program is held in the last days of each year. Election of officers is by ballot of the membership.

The Association maintains close relations with the state and local historical societies through conferences at the annual meetings. The Pacific Coast Branch holds meetings in December on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS: In addition to the *Annual Report*, the Association publishes from time to time out of special funds important documentary collections in American political and legal history. Its official organ is the *American Historical Review*, published quarterly and sent to all members. It appoints a proportion of the members of the board of editors of *Social Education*, a journal on the social studies for secondary-school teachers.

PRIZES: The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best manuscript in the history of the Western Hemisphere, with a cash value of \$1,000 and assurance of publication. The *Watumull Prize* of \$500, awarded biennially for a work on the history of India originally published in the United States (next award: December, 1958). The *George Louis Beer Prize* of about \$200, awarded annually for a work on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *John H. Dunning Prize* of about \$140, awarded in the even-numbered years for a monograph on any subject relating to American history. The *Herbert B. Adams Prize* of \$200, awarded in the even-numbered years for a work in the field of European history. The *Moses Coit Tyler Prize* of \$1,500 plus publication, awarded in 1957 for the best manuscript in the field of American intellectual history, including biography.

DUES: There is no initiation fee. Annual dues are \$7.50, students \$4.00. Life membership is \$150. All members receive the *American Historical Review* and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to the Executive Secretary at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

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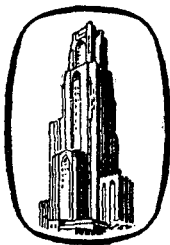
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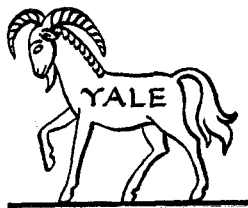
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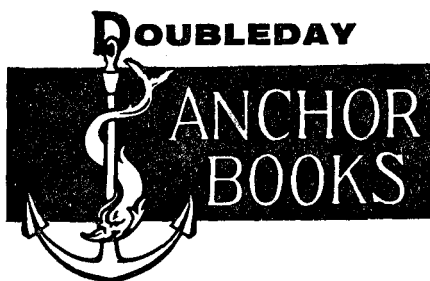
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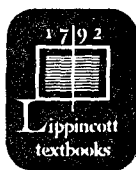


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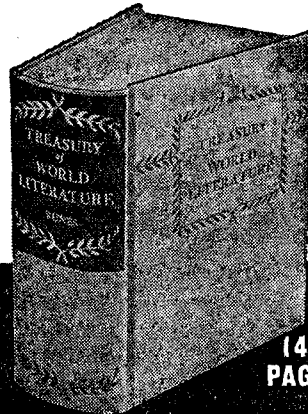
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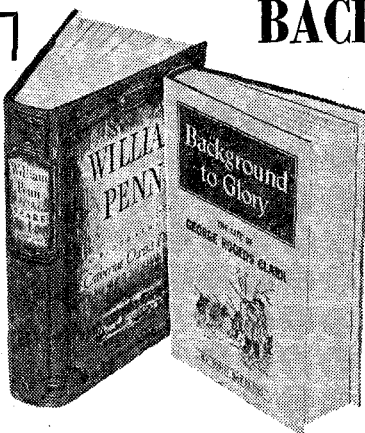
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